

TIME

FOR MILLIONS OF
AMERICAN WORKERS,
LIVING ON TIPS HAS
BECOME UNLIVABLE

THE LEFT BEHIND ECONOMY

BY ALANA SEMUELS &
MALCOLM BURNLEY





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**ON THE COVER
AND ABOVE:**
*Photographs by
Sasha Arutyunova
for TIME*

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Conversation



WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT...

IT'S HIS COUNTRY Andrew R. Chow's Aug. 26 cover story on how Lil Nas X is revolutionizing country music prompted documentarian Ken Burns—whose newest film is about the genre—to tweet that the rapper is a great example of how country music “has always been an expansive art form rooted in our diverse background and history.” Even people who don't love Lil Nas X's hit song “Old Town Road” embraced his story. “I don't care for his music but you gotta give him credit,” wrote Facebook user James Lashway. “To have a hit that crossed over from hip-hop to country as a gay black man is quite the feat.” William Smith, also on Facebook, said he hoped the cover would empower others “to come out in a world and a culture that [tells] them to stay in the closet.”

‘Welcome to the @TIME magazine cover club @LilNasX. Get it!’

LAVERNE COX, actor who appeared on the June 9, 2014, cover of TIME, on Twitter

WELCOME, COMRADES Simon Shuster and Vera Bergengruen's Aug. 26 story on a Kremlin-linked firm that invested millions of dollars in Kentucky shocked readers. Jack Zoellner of Scottsdale, Ariz., wrote, “I am not so worried about Russia's test of a nuclear weapon, but I am worried [about] Russia taking over Kentucky.” Frank Lagemann of New York City didn't think

much of Senate leader and Kentuckian Mitch McConnell after reading the article, responding in verse, “His dealings in the Senate show/ how Moscow Mitch deceives./ If you ask me, this man must go./ No healing till he leaves.”

‘if America took care of her own, Russia wouldn't have to.’

@STRUTHER, on Twitter

Back in TIME

The Cleveland Browns

Nov. 26, 1965

This week's feature on the Cleveland Browns (page 68) explores how the team's star players are hoping to revitalize a franchise TIME has noted was once “the winningest team in pro football.” In this cover story from five decades ago, the Browns were '64 NFL champions and their fullback Jim Brown was the league's most accomplished player. Read the story at time.com/vault



CLOSE ENCOUNTERS On TIME.com, find out how what started as a Facebook joke about “storming” Area 51, the Air Force base at the center of UFO conspiracy theories, became serious business—and how the nearby town of Rachel, Nev., is bracing for an influx of visitors expected to arrive in September. Read more at time.com/alienstock



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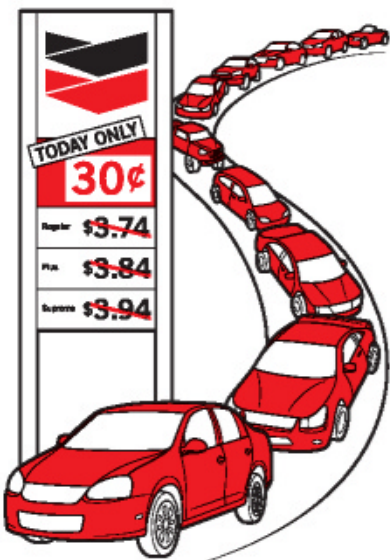
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For the Record

'I am
sorry for
harm
I have
caused.'

ELIZABETH WARREN,

U.S. Senator and Democratic presidential candidate, at an Aug. 19 forum on American Indian issues in Sioux City, Iowa, six months after her controversial announcement that she'd taken a DNA test to prove her Cherokee ancestry



30¢

Cost of a gallon of gas at a Santa Monica, Calif., station on Aug. 15; the '50s-era pricing, a promotional stunt for Amazon's *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel*, was nixed by authorities when it caused traffic jams

*'I am her free bird.
So why would
I come back
and be caged?'*

RASHIDA TLAIB,

U.S. Congresswoman, at an Aug. 19 press conference, after Israel denied entry to her and Representative Ilhan Omar; Tlaib refused an offer to be allowed to visit her grandmother in the West Bank if she agreed not to promote boycotts of Israel

**'GREENLAND IS
NOT FOR SALE.'**

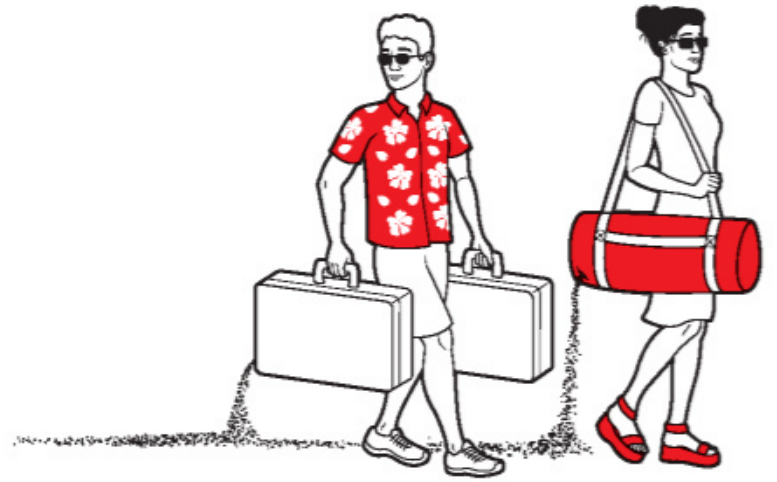
KIM KIELSEN,

Premier of Greenland, responding to reports that U.S. President Donald Trump is interested in buying the island—a semiautonomous Danish territory—for its strategic value; Trump announced Aug. 20 he was canceling a planned visit to Denmark because the idea had been rebuffed

'I don't think it was very good for me.'

GEORGE R.R. MARTIN,

author, on how HBO's hit *Game of Thrones* added pressure to finish the series of books on which the show was based



90

Pounds of sand a French couple tried to take home from Sardinia as a souvenir; the sand is protected by law, and the tourists could face up to six years in jail for its theft

Holmes

It was revealed actors Katie Holmes and Jamie Foxx broke up after six years of dating



Watson

Ottawa Mayor Jim Watson comes out as gay in an Aug. 17 op-ed

'I feel a profound sense of obligation to protect Harry and his family from the unnecessary press intrusion that contributed to Diana's untimely death.'

ELTON JOHN,

musician and friend of Princess Diana's, reacting Aug. 19 to negative coverage of Prince Harry and Meghan Markle's flying on his private jet to his house in Nice, France



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OUT THERE.

The Brief

SHOW OF FORCE
Chinese armored
vehicles and
troop trucks
mass on Aug. 16
in Shenzhen,
across the border
from Hong Kong



INSIDE

*AN INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE
OVER THE AMAZON RAIN FOREST*

*PLANNED PARENTHOOD'S
DECISION ON FEDERAL FUNDING*

*REMEMBERING PETER FONDA,
EASY RIDER ICON*

PHOTOGRAPH BY DAKE KANG

WORLD

The real problem with Trump's foreign policy

By John Walcott

ON HIS WAY TO AN AUG. 1 CAMPAIGN EVENT in Ohio, President Donald Trump was asked about America's position on the months-long pro-democracy protests in Hong Kong. "That's between Hong Kong and that's between China, because Hong Kong is a part of China," Trump said. But as tensions mounted in the self-governing enclave in the following weeks, Trump's aides and allies took different positions, with his State Department, National Security Adviser and supporters in the Senate backing the protesters and warning Beijing against intervention.

The mixed messages left U.S. and foreign officials struggling with basic questions about American policy, such as to what extent the U.S. considers Hong Kong autonomous and how Washington might respond to the use of force to quell the demonstrations. More broadly, the confusion captures an enduring challenge of the Trump presidency: it's almost impossible to discern America's approach to key foreign issues, from trade to humanitarian crises to military deployments, because the process for setting and enforcing policy is ignored or irrelevant.

In interviews with TIME, more than a dozen current and former U.S. officials in the White House, the State and Defense Departments, and the intelligence community said the lack of clarity on Hong Kong reflects a muddled approach not just to that crisis but to policymaking across the national-security bureaucracy. And while some have found Trump's unpredictability refreshing, it has left America's closest allies wondering whether the U.S. will honor treaties, re-evaluating their relations with adversaries like Russia and China, and planning for what a second Trump term might bring.

THE PRESIDENT'S PENCHANT for ad hoc policymaking has spread across government, these officials say. National Security Adviser John Bolton has dispensed with most of the interagency meetings that allowed top officials in previous Republican and Democratic Administrations to present and debate the risks and benefits of different policy options, according to four current and former National Security Council officials.

As a result, said two of the officials, there is less—and sometimes no—coordination among Cabinet departments. Some policies are decided without input from diplomatic, political or military experts. Bolton's top aides have called coun-

terparts to ask if they know what was discussed or decided in certain meetings, only to be told, "We don't know either," according to one Administration official. A National Security Council official declined to comment on the record.

The top-down pattern also has been adopted by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, State Department officials say. Pompeo meets with some top political appointees only every other week, according to two current department officials and one former one. When Colin Powell was Secretary of State during President George W. Bush's first term, he met with his Under and Assistant Secretaries every morning, those officials said.

In a July 25 closed-door meeting with the Business Council for International Understanding, according to two people in attendance, Under Secretary of State for Management Brian Bulatao, a West Point classmate of Pompeo's, said that because Pompeo was away from the building 80% of the time, he was streamlining the management of the department by slashing the number of officials who report to him. Deputy Secretary of State John Sullivan, Bulatao said, was taking responsibility for finance; public diplomacy and public affairs; and civilian security, democracy and human rights. "That means only about half the department has regular access to the secretary," said one of the attendees, a former department official. That has left some officials in the dark about what issues are at the top of Pompeo's agenda at any given time and what other parts of the department are doing.

The lack of orderly policy processes across government is what has led to the confusion on Hong Kong, insiders say. Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross told CNBC on Aug. 14 that the dispute "is an internal matter." The same day, Pompeo's State Department said it was "deeply concerned" by reports that China's People's Armed Police were mobilizing in nearby Shenzhen. "We condemn violence and urge all sides to exercise restraint, but remain staunch in our support for freedom of expression and freedom of peaceful assembly in Hong Kong," the statement said.

Bolton also took a harder line than Ross, warning the Chinese in an Aug. 15 interview that they "have to look very carefully at the steps they take because people in America remember Tiananmen Square"—a reference to the 1989 demonstrations that were brutally crushed. "We urge all sides to remain calm and for the HK government to peacefully address the situation. The United States expects that Beijing will uphold its commitments in the Sino-British Joint Declaration," a senior Administration official said in an email to TIME on Aug. 19. "Preserving HK's autonomy as agreed to by China is in everyone's best interest."

It was as close as the Trump team has come to embracing America's long-standing position on Hong Kong. But it was just one voice among many in the unpredictable Trump Administration this summer.

'That's between Hong Kong and that's between China, because Hong Kong is a part of China.'

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP, asked on Aug. 1 about the protests roiling Hong Kong this summer





IN THE STREETS Demonstrators flash defiant hand signs despite a water-cannon blast in the Turkish city of Diyarbakir. Police also used tear gas and struck fleeing protesters with batons during Aug. 20 rallies against the ouster of three Kurdish mayors. Amid a crackdown on opposition, Ankara alleged that the mayors—members of the pro-Kurdish Peoples’ Democratic Party—have ties to the banned Kurdistan Workers’ Party, which Turkey and the U.S. designate a terrorist organization.

THE BULLETIN

Tensions simmer between Brazil and Europe over Amazon deforestation

A FIGHT IS BREWING OVER THE LUNGS OF the planet. Since taking office in January, Brazil’s far-right President Jair Bolsonaro has overseen a surge in logging in the vast Amazon rain forest—and on Aug. 15, Norway suspended a \$33 million donation to a Brazilian sustainability fund because Bolsonaro had interfered in it; Germany froze its payment five days earlier. Bolsonaro responded with mockery, telling the Europeans to go “reforest Germany” instead, but what may lie ahead is no laughing matter.

UNDER SIEGE Bolsonaro has delivered on campaign promises to weaken protections for the environment and indigenous communities, freeing up more land for cattle. Over 870 sq. mi. of the Amazon was cleared in July—a 278% increase from July 2018—according to satellite monitoring by Brazil’s space-research agency. Scientists say the rain forest, which helps slow climate change by absorbing massive amounts of carbon dioxide, is nearing a “tipping point” after which its ecosystems cannot recover.

GREEN INTENTIONS The governors of Brazilian states that contain the rain forest have vowed to bypass Bolsonaro and negotiate directly with European embassies to save the Amazon funding. But the rapid deforestation is also fueling European opposition to a long-awaited trade deal between the E.U. and a South American trade bloc of which Brazil is the largest member. The deal would need to be ratified by the E.U.’s member states and Parliament, where green parties won a significant 69 seats in May.

CLIMATE DIVIDE Europe’s environmentalists hope their leaders will use “climate diplomacy” to force Bolsonaro to protect the Amazon. But it’s unclear if he’d listen. On July 29, he canceled a climate-policy meeting with France’s Foreign Minister in order to get a haircut. The next day, President Donald Trump—who is trying to free the U.S. from its climate obligations—said he’d pursue a Brazil trade deal. Unlike the Amazon, the obstacles to climate action show no sign of shrinking. —CIARA NUGENT

NEWS TICKER

El Salvador rape survivor acquitted

A 21-year-old Salvadoran woman who served 33 months of a 30-year prison sentence for homicide, after giving birth to a stillborn child she said was conceived when she was raped, was **cleared of all charges at a retrial on Aug. 19.**

The case drew international attention to El Salvador’s strict abortion laws.

CDC probes lung illnesses’ link to vaping

The CDC said Aug. 17 it was **investigating a mysterious “cluster of pulmonary illnesses linked to e-cigarette use,”** with 94 possible cases reported recently across 14 states. Symptoms include chest pain and difficulty breathing; the CDC says there is no evidence of links to an infectious disease.

Secret Chinese social-media accounts axed

Hundreds of Twitter accounts with suspected links to the Chinese state were **suspended in the days leading up to Aug. 19,** as the platform said the accounts had been “deliberately and specifically” spreading disinformation about pro-democracy protests in Hong Kong. Facebook took similar steps.

NEWS TICKER

DHS to scrap rule for minor migrants

The Department of Homeland Security announced Aug. 21 it plans to **end the rule known as the Flores agreement**, which had put a 20-day limit on detention-center stays for migrant children. A federal judge must still approve the change, and a court challenge is expected.

Italian PM resigns and blames Salvini

Italian Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte **resigned on Aug. 20, 12 days after populist Interior Minister Matteo Salvini called for snap elections** in the hopes of replacing him. Salvini, the leader of the anti-migrant League party, has been surging in recent polls and wants an election as soon as possible.

Trump backs up on gun control

After meeting with lobbyists, including National Rifle Association head Wayne LaPierre, **President Trump seemed to abandon the calls for new gun-control measures** that he'd made after mass shootings in Texas and Ohio. "People don't realize," he said on Aug. 18, "we have very strong background checks right now."

GOOD QUESTION

Why is Planned Parenthood rejecting federal funding?

EACH YEAR, THE FEDERAL TITLE X PROGRAM provides \$286 million in grants to groups across the U.S. that provide family-planning care to low-income patients. But on Aug. 19, Planned Parenthood walked away from its share of the money rather than comply with new Trump Administration regulations that prevent referrals for abortion. In the wake of the decision, the organization will be left to try to bridge a funding gap so that patients can get the care they need, including cancer screenings, STD testing and birth control consultations.

"We're trying to do all we can to ensure that the care continues," acting Planned Parenthood president Alexis McGill Johnson said on a call with reporters the day of the announcement. "Using fundraising to do what should be a state responsibility, a federal responsibility, is really the challenge. It's like holding an umbrella during a tsunami."

The regulation in question was announced earlier this year, and Planned Parenthood has called it a "gag rule," as it prevents providers that receive Title X funding from making abortion referrals or telling patients where to obtain one; it also requires abortion providers to be separate from clinics that use Title X funding for other services. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) has rejected that character-

ization, noting on its website that Title X providers can still counsel on abortion, even though they can't refer patients for one as a method of family planning. Clinics had until Aug. 19 to tell HHS whether they were taking steps to comply with the rule, but Planned Parenthood said it would not remain in the program unless the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit overruled the policy before the deadline, which it did not. (The Democrat-dominated House of Representatives has also passed a spending bill that would block the Title X restrictions, but it is unlikely to gain support from the Republican-led Senate or Trump.)

McGill Johnson did not say how much funding Planned Parenthood will lose, though the organization reportedly received \$60 million in annual Title X money. It was the program's largest beneficiary, treating 40% of the 4 million people served annually by its grants. She said Planned Parenthood will use emergency funds to help close the gap, but the impact will "vary state by state." McGill Johnson did not specify whether some clinics were at risk of closing, but said the restrictions could force patients to delay or forgo medical care—especially in states, like Utah, where Planned Parenthood had been the only Title X grantee.

Planned Parenthood, along with other health groups and about 20 states, continues to challenge the rule in court. Oral arguments will be heard in California during the week of Sept. 23. Until then, HHS can enforce the rule, and patients will learn for themselves what its impact is. —JAMIE DUCHARME

LOST AND FOUND

Snail mail

It was reported on Aug. 19 that a man collecting firewood on an Alaska beach had found a **50-year-old message in a bottle**, from a Russian navy sailor. Here, other slow sends. —Julia Webster

DEAR JOHN

In 1971, John Lennon wrote a supportive letter to an aspiring musician named Steve Tilston—who didn't receive it until 34 years later. The story inspired the 2015 movie *Danny Collins*, starring Al Pacino.



NO SUCH ZONE

In 2012, an anonymous man donated to an archive 90 letters that were stolen from German soldiers on the island of Jersey in 1941. Many were addressed to places that are no longer part of Germany.

BETTER LATE

A Frenchwoman in her 80s received a letter in 2015 about an order of yarn, but it was meant for her great-grandfather, who'd owned a spinning mill. The letter had taken 138 years to travel about six miles.

Milestones

DIED

Kathleen Blanco, who was Louisiana's governor during Hurricane Katrina, on Aug. 18 at 76.

HELD

A funeral for **Iceland's first glacier lost to climate change**, by scientists there on Aug. 18. Before it melted, the Okjokull glacier stretched 6 sq. mi.

ARRESTED

James Patrick Reardon, who attended white-nationalist protests in Charlottesville, Va., in 2017, for allegedly **threatening a Youngstown, Ohio, Jewish community center**, on Aug. 16. He pleaded not guilty.

NAMED

Former student-loan industry exec **Robert Cameron**, as the Consumer Finance Protection Bureau's student-loan watchdog, by the bureau on Aug. 16.

STRIPPED

The British citizenship of **Jack Letts, known as "Jihadi Jack,"** who left his home in the U.K. in 2014 allegedly to join the Islamic State.

REMOVED

Hugh Hurwitz, as **acting head of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons**, by AG William Barr, on Aug. 19, shortly after the suicide of Jeffrey Epstein while in the bureau's custody.

BARRED

A **Palestinian gay- and transgender-rights group** from holding West Bank events, by the Palestinian Authority on Aug. 17.



Fonda in The Wild Angels in 1966, a few years before Easy Rider made him an icon of the decade

DIED

Peter Fonda Counterculture star

PETER FONDA WAS THE SON OF OLD HOLLYWOOD ROYALTY, AND although he rejected the mantle of tinselly fame he stood to inherit from his father Henry Fonda, his own personal glamour was always something to behold. Fonda, who died on Aug. 16 at age 79, got his start in small television roles in the early 1960s. But it wasn't until the end of that decade that he found his true path forward, in the iconoclastic 1969 road drama *Easy Rider*, directed by and co-starring his friend and fellow free spirit Dennis Hopper and written by Fonda, Hopper and Terry Southern. (The script would earn the three an Academy Award nomination.)

Easy Rider, with its plot involving free love, a cross-country motorcycle trip and lots of drugs, became a grand temple of counterculture cinema, and Fonda's Wyatt—a lanky, untroubled adventurer open to the world—its patron saint. After that, Fonda never became a star in the conventional leading-man sense, but he gave marvelous performances throughout his career, especially in the 1990s: he won a Golden Globe for his role as a Vietnam vet turned beekeeper in *Ulee's Gold* (1997), and in *The Limey* (1999) he gave a superb performance as aging record mogul Terry Valentine, a slick charmer who earns this acute appraisal from one of his young girlfriends: "You're not specific enough to be a person. You're more of a vibe." Fonda, though, was both a person *and* a vibe. His performances were gorgeously idiosyncratic, and the mere act of watching him was its own kind of freedom. Decades after *Easy Rider*, he could still make you feel just like Wyatt: beautiful and wild and ready for anything. —STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

APPOINTED

Winnie Byanyima

A first in the fight against AIDS

WINNIE BYANYIMA, THE former Ugandan revolutionary and diplomat who was appointed the executive director of UNAIDS on Aug. 14, will take charge of the embattled United Nations HIV/AIDS program at a fraught moment. While advances in vaccines and a possible cure are on the horizon, recent data show an increase in new HIV infections in several countries, along with a decline in donor support. In addition, a damning report in December detailed a culture of bullying at the 25-year-old organization, as well as allegations of sexual harassment.

Byanyima, 60, will be the first African woman to hold the post, and deftly handled a sexual-abuse scandal at the antipoverty NGO Oxfam International in her prior position as executive director there. She should be uniquely poised to tackle her new role—and aware of how hard the job will be. "The end of AIDS as a public-health threat by 2030 is a goal that is within the world's reach," she said in a statement. "But I do not underestimate the scale of the challenge ahead."

—ARYN BAKER





<
Mary Knowlton
and her husband
Gary in a 2016
family photo

Justice is elusive when policing goes wrong

By Melissa Chan

MARY KNOWLTON WAS 73 YEARS OLD when she was shot to death by a police officer demonstrating the perils of his job. The officer, Lee Coel, was playing the “bad guy,” and Knowlton was selected to play a cop during the exercise in Punta Gorda, Fla., in 2016. Instead of firing blanks as the retired librarian approached him, Coel accidentally shot her with live bullets, his lawyer says.

“She goes down, and no one knows if she’s pretending,” says one of her two sons, Steve Knowlton, 53. “Then they flipped her over.”

Knowlton bled out from her abdomen and left elbow in the Punta Gorda police department’s parking lot. She died about an hour later at a hospital. “It just feels like our souls got ripped out of our chest,” her son says.

August marked the third anniversary of Knowlton’s death, but Coel, 31, has yet to stand trial on a manslaughter charge and is free on bond. He remained on the job for seven months after the shooting and was not fired until the state attorney filed charges—something his defense attorney, Thomas Sclafani, says should never have happened. “This case should not have even been prosecuted,” says Sclafani. “It’s a tragic accident. That’s all it is.” He has twice filed motions seeking to move Coel’s trial out of the county,

which he says was necessary to find jurors who are not extremely familiar with the case and one reason it’s moving slowly. In August, Coel’s trial was rescheduled for at least the fourth time, to Oct. 22. “I haven’t given up hope,” Steve Knowlton says, “but I don’t think we’re going to get justice.”

History suggests he’s right. Since Eric Garner died in July 2014 while being wrestled to the ground by a New York City police officer, cops rarely have faced trial in accidental or intentional deaths of civilians. According to Mapping Police Violence—one of the few research groups tracking deadly

police encounters in the absence of a comprehensive national database—U.S. law-enforcement officers intentionally or accidentally killed more than 6,800 civilians from 2013 to 2018. Other groups and media outlets that track data report similar figures. In 2017 and 2018, KilledbyPolice.net said police fatally shot more than 2,300 people nationwide,

and the Washington Post recorded 1,978 instances in the same period. An officer was charged with a crime in 1.7% of the cases reported by Mapping Police Violence, says Samuel Sinyangwe, a policy analyst who co-founded the site, which compiles data from news stories, police reports, social media and other sources.

“The moment I’m a happy person is the moment I forget what happened to her.”

WILLIAM KNOWLTON,
son of Mary
Knowlton

GARNER’S DEATH might be the most notorious of the cases. On July 16, federal prosecutors announced they would not bring civil rights charges against Daniel Pantaleo, the officer who held Garner down as the 43-year-old repeatedly gasped, “I can’t breathe.” A grand jury had also declined to indict him. For five years, Pantaleo collected a salary of \$85,000 on desk duty until the police commissioner fired him on Aug. 19. “You finally made a decision that should have been made five years ago,” Garner’s daughter Emerald Snipes Garner said.

What the Knowltons are going through is very different from what Garner’s family endured, and what the families of the mostly black and Hispanic individuals killed in use-of-force incidents have experienced. The Knowltons know their loved one wasn’t targeted because of race—Mary Knowlton was white, as is the officer—and she was not assumed to be committing a crime. Her sons didn’t grow up with the wariness toward law enforcement shared by many young men of color, which Steve Knowlton, a Realtor in Cocoa Beach, Fla., acknowledges. “This is far beyond anything I could ever imagine could happen to us,” he says. But after all this time, they share something with those other families: a loss of faith in a system that is supposed to protect them.

When officers are indicted, convictions are rare. Of the 104 nonfederal law-enforcement officers arrested for murder or manslaughter for fatal on-duty shootings since 2005, only 36 have been convicted of a crime, says criminologist Philip Stinson, who was a police officer in New Hampshire in the 1980s. By comparison, of the 217 people charged with murder and manslaughter in the nation’s 75 largest counties in May 2009 alone, 70% were convicted of murder or other felonies, according to the most recent data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics. Even when officers are convicted, they’re often found guilty of lesser offenses and receive more lenient sentences than civilians convicted of the same crimes, according to researchers.

Lawyers involved in prosecuting police say there are several factors at play in these cases, including the powerful unions that often represent police



Gwen Carr, the mother of Eric Garner, speaks to media on Aug. 19 in New York City

officers and discourage elected district attorneys from pursuing charges. It's also difficult for many civilians to see police as anything but good guys.

"Oftentimes, because you have enough people in society who have such a favorable opinion of the police, you end up in a situation where one of those people almost always makes it onto a jury," Sinyangwe says. Jurors may also be reluctant to question the split-second decisions police officers must make in a dangerous line of work. More than 1,500 law-enforcement officers have died on the job in the past decade, and tens of thousands have been injured, according to the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund and the FBI. In 2018, the FBI says, 55 officers were attacked and killed on duty, nine more than in the previous year.

"We are on combat every day, 24 hours a day, seven days a week, against an enemy we don't know," says Thomas Lake, who was a St. Louis police sergeant in November 2016 when he was shot twice in the face while on patrol. Lake was in his marked police car at a traffic light when another driver pulled up next to him and opened fire without saying a word. "I registered it

was a gun after he pulled the trigger and hit me in the face," Lake says. "My situation happened in less than a fraction of a second, and it changed my life forever."

THE IDEA OF CONVICTING an officer for a mistake made in the heat of the moment—or while conducting a friendly exercise—is especially difficult for people who see police as their friends. Mary Knowlton was one such person. Days before she died, Knowlton told her family she wanted to attend the event to support her local police after a perilous summer for law enforcement: in 2016, eight Baton Rouge, La., and Dallas officers had been murdered amid a string of fatal police shootings of black men.

The deadly mix-up occurred when Coel—who stored both live ammo and blank cartridges in his patrol car—loaded his weapon with what he thought were blanks, investigators said, adding that the cartridges were similar in shape and size. In the months after the shooting, Steve, his brother William and their father assumed law enforcement would hold accountable those responsible for the mistake. When the city offered the family a \$2 million settlement, they took it instead of filing a civil

lawsuit. But over time, the family says they felt ostracized for demanding justice. When Tom Lewis, the Punta Gorda police chief at the time, faced a misdemeanor negligence charge as a result of the shooting, local businesses raised money for his legal defense. Uniformed officers packed the courtroom during his trial, which ended in acquittal after his attorney argued that Lewis had no way of knowing Knowlton could be harmed during the exercise. "You're not only the victim, but you're the bad guy," Steve Knowlton says.

Under use-of-force standards set by U.S. Supreme Court cases in the 1980s, police officers may be justified in using lethal force when they have reason to believe there is a credible and immediate threat to themselves or others. That threshold, critics say, makes it hard to prosecute officers or even challenge them. "It's a free get-out-of-jail pass from the highest court in America," says attorney Ben Crump, who has represented several families in high-profile cases involving police use of force.

Because there's no federal requirement that officers exhaust all other resources before using lethal force, advocates for police reform say there's no incentive to change their ways. A 2015 Amnesty International USA report said no state complies with international law that requires officers to use deadly force only as a last resort to protect themselves and others from death or serious injury. In February, California legislators introduced a bill that would have been the first in the nation to allow officers to use deadly force only when there is "no reasonable alternative," but dozens of police unions opposed it, and the final version lost some of its strongest language. It no longer requires officers to exhaust all reasonable alternatives or to first try to de-escalate confrontations. "They watered down the bill a lot," says Crump, adding, "I'm still cautiously optimistic that it gives us hope for change."

But the Knowltons are tired of waiting for change. "Our family has to sit here as it drags on," says William, 56. "The way that she got taken away," he says before trailing off. "The moment I'm a happy person is the moment I forget what happened to her." □

Teen phenom **Coco Gauff** announced her arrival at Wimbledon. It was just the beginning

By **Sean Gregory**

AFTER AN ASTRONOMICAL RISE, RE-ENTRY CAN feel strange. When Coco Gauff, 15, came back to her hometown of Delray Beach, Fla., in July, following a star turn at Wimbledon where she defeated her idol Venus Williams and became the youngest woman to reach the fourth round of the world's most prestigious tennis tournament since Jennifer Capriati in 1991, she found a lot had changed. One Saturday afternoon, the gym in which she sometimes shoots hoops with her father hosted a packed homecoming celebration in her honor. She also quickly learned to leave a few minutes earlier for appointments, since strangers inevitably stop to ask her for a selfie.

On one of those Florida summer mornings when the temperature reads 87°F but it feels like 150°F, wide-eyed admirers wandered over to a court where she was conducting a routine training session, not quite believing that was actually Coco Gauff working on her serve. "Is there an admission charge to watch?" one guy asked. (No, replied Coco's dad Corey. If you want to stand in this heat, he said, we should pay you.) A fellow from Amsterdam, in town visiting friends, came by to offer his respects. An older woman told Gauff she was so proud of her, and just lingered before finally leaving for her pickleball game.

Eventually a group of kids from the Delray Beach Youth Tennis Foundation, who happened to be attending a clinic a few courts over, migrated toward Gauff. Her agent had told a foundation rep she was too busy practicing to stop for a picture. But during a break, Gauff wasn't about to keep at arm's length from newfound fans—especially ones her own age. "Can I have a hug?" asked one girl before a group shot. Gauff obliged.

"How did you feel at Wimbledon with all those eyes on you?" asked a boy. Gauff's reply: "I tried to pretend I was here."

That mind trick worked wonderfully, as Gauff showed that no moment will overwhelm her. A few days after taking a science exam, she nonetheless managed her 6-4, 6-4 first-round win over Williams, a five-time Wimbledon champ, on July 1, capturing the world's attention. "On my science test, I got a B," Gauff said afterward. "Today I would give myself an A." Even better, she wasn't done with her high-grade play.

"Some people were probably saying this was one

GAUFF QUICK FACTS

Soaring summer
Gauff's ranking rose from 313 to 141, her current position, after Wimbledon.

Name game
Her given name is Cori, not to be confused with her father Corey. But Dad called her Coco. "I felt weird saying my name all the time," says Corey.

Speedy service
Gauff clocked the third-fastest top serve speed at Wimbledon, 119 m.p.h., trailing Serena Williams (122 m.p.h.) and Polona Hercog (120 m.p.h.).

time, this was the match of her life," Gauff says while eating zucchini pasta for lunch at a Delray Beach restaurant that blares classic rock songs that are nowhere near her playlist. She sometimes stretches a braid across her chin while talking. "I had those thoughts as well." So she immediately put the Venus win behind her and pulled off two more victories, including a three-set comeback thriller on Centre Court against Polona Hercog, who had two match points but couldn't put the teen away. "I learned that I'm capable of a lot of things," says Gauff. Her magical run didn't end until a fourth-round loss to eventual champ Simona Halep, who defeated Serena Williams in the final. "I learned to fight."

Gauff earned social-media shout-outs from A-listers like Michelle Obama—the pair met in D.C. in August—Magic Johnson, Snoop Dogg and Jaden Smith, one of her favorite singers. Her Instagram following, 30,000 before Wimbledon, is nearly 400,000. Companies of all kinds—airlines, hotels, banks, cosmetics makers—have reached out to discuss possible sponsorship deals. Seven years ago, Gauff attended Arthur Ashe Kids' Day at the U.S. Open as a spectator. This year, she'll take the stage and sign autographs in New York as a featured guest before playing in the tournament's main draw.

Tennis cognoscenti have long rushed to anoint the "next Serena," an unfair label for any young player trying to make her way. Gauff shone in a single Grand Slam tournament, and she's not yet old enough to drive a car, though she could surely afford one with her \$227,786 in Wimbledon winnings. But her breakout effort is far from a fluke. Two years ago, she was the youngest to ever reach the U.S. Open girls' final. In May, she became the youngest player to win a women's qualifying match at the French Open. Gauff arrived ahead of schedule. And she declines to tamp down expectations.

Her goal? "It's to be the greatest," she says. Of all time? "Yes."

GAUFF'S ALWAYS BEEN a step ahead. Her mom Candi, who ran track at Florida State, says her daughter could recognize letters, in any font, when she was 2. She'd keep up with her 10-year-old cousins on a track when she was 3. While most kids nod off in church or stare at the ceiling on field trips, Gauff would take notes. In preschool, she drew a picture of her favorite food: broccoli.

Corey, who played point guard at Division 1 Georgia State University, got his daughter a pink racket when she was 4: she'd spend hours hitting a ball against the garage. After Coco finished second grade, they moved from Atlanta to Delray Beach, where Corey and Candi had grown up, to give Coco access to better tennis training. Candi started homeschooling her, which gave Coco more-flexible hours to practice. (She's starting 10th grade.)



At Wimbledon, Herczeg remarked that Gauff is “probably older in her head than the numbers show.” Gauff agrees with that assessment, tennis-wise. “Off the court,” she says, “I don’t feel mature.” In other words, she feels 15. She still plays hide-and-seek in the house with her brothers Cody, 11, and Cameron, 6; Cody accidentally broke her Junior Fed Cup trophy during one game. When their mom tells them to stop throwing stuff around, they often ignore her. “We’ll do anything,” Gauff says, “just to make my parents mad.”

Gauff says she’s never been on a date. “But I help my friends a lot,” she says. “I’m more a wing-woman.” She plans to get her learner’s permit after the Open but has no plans to start staying out late, since tennis wears her out enough. “The only reason I want my license,” she says, “is to go to Chick-fil-A.” She doesn’t feel like she’s missing adolescent milestones as she travels the world for tennis. “I want to go to prom and all of that, but I definitely can make time to have that,” says Gauff. Plus, she notes, her friends “don’t really enjoy the high school experience.” That may just be

‘I learned that I’m capable of a lot of things. I learned to fight.’

COCO GAUFF, describing lessons from Wimbledon, where she advanced to the fourth round

typical teen chatter, but it appears to help spare Gauff any regrets.

For now, Gauff’s all about the game. She’s spent the weeks before the U.S. Open adding more depth to her shots. Parents are often cautioned against setting unrealistic goals for kids, to prevent disappointment. But for years Corey has told his daughter she can be the “GOAT”: greatest of all time. “When you’re young, you just believe anything,” says Gauff. “When I got older, I really believed it for an actual reason, instead of just believing ‘cause my dad told me.” So she’s comfortable declaring her intentions. “A lot of people maybe think of it as cocky,” she says. “But I think it’s just confidence. I think I can beat anyone on the court.”

Gauff speaks with conviction, but she’s not brash. She won’t, for example, predict that she’ll pass Serena’s 23 Grand Slam wins. “But I know I can do it,” Gauff says. Lunch ends; as she leaves the restaurant, the maître d’ and a cook pop out to take a picture with her. Welcome to Coco Gauff’s new normal. Which has only just begun. □



A photograph of a bedroom with blue walls and a patterned sofa. The room is decorated with red flowers and a blue and white striped bedspread. A small table with a white pot and a bowl is next to the bed. The sofa has a blue and white patterned fabric with a large blue circular design on the backrest. The floor is covered with a red and gold patterned rug.

LightBox

Tragic aftermath

Hundreds of men, women and children were dancing at a wedding in Kabul on Aug. 17 when a suicide bomber detonated his vest in the crowd, killing 63 people and wounding at least 180 more. The bride and groom survived the blast, for which an ISIS affiliate took responsibility, but many of their relatives did not. The couple's new room at the groom's family home, pictured here the next day, remained unused amid the tragedy. The groom "lost hope," he told a local TV station, as what should have been a joyous moment became the latest casualty in Afghanistan's long war.

Photograph by Jim Huylebroek—The New York Times/Redux
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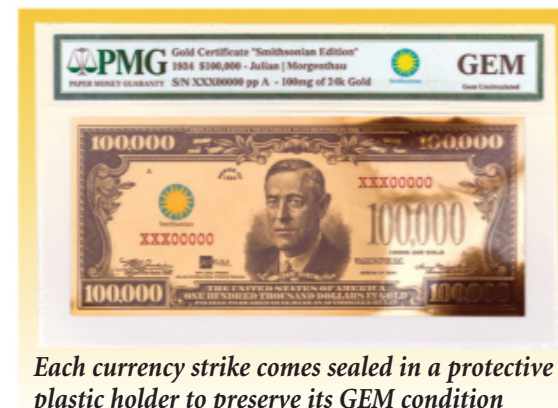
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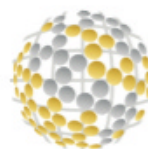
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The View

NATION

TROOPS AREN'T THE ANSWER

By James Stavridis



As the humanitarian crisis at the southern border has grown, the President and his allies have called for the U.S. military to be deployed in greater numbers. I commanded the U.S. Southern Command, overseeing all forces south of this country, for a few years, and I am skeptical that there is a military solution to these challenges. ▶

INSIDE

WHY OUR BRAINS CAN'T
PROCESS CLIMATE CHANGE

MESSY POLITICS RATTLE
GLOBAL MARKETS

NEW QUESTIONS ABOUT
FLUORIDE AND IQ

TheView Opener

In July, it was reported that the Trump Administration was calling up over 2,000 more troops to support the approximately 5,000 already on duty there. To put that in perspective, we have fewer than 1,000 troops in Syria and only 14,000 in Afghanistan, where there is a clear-cut need for such combat capability. The military can help the Border Patrol with logistical support, intelligence gathering and construction of physical barriers. But U.S. law generally prohibits the use of the military in circumstances that approach actual law enforcement. When forces under my command conducted counternarcotics patrols, for example, the law-enforcement functions had to be conducted by duly authorized personnel—U.S. Coast Guard or Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) officers, typically.

If the military isn't the answer, what should we be doing?

Interagency cooperation is the first key to solving this crisis. This should include work not only by the Department of Homeland Security but also by the State Department to craft diplomatic agreements with our neighbors; Treasury, Commerce and the U.S. Trade Representative to create economic incentives that would help keep migrants in their own countries; Health and Human Services to deal humanely with the migrants crossing the border; and the DEA to work the counternarcotics and gang challenges that lead to much of the migrant-driving violence. Only by harnessing the power of an integrated government can we create a holistic solution to the crisis.

WE ALSO NEED better international cooperation. Mexico and the nations of Central America have a substantial role to play in resolving this situation, and they can be incentivized to do more, including possibly accepting “safe third country” agreements—in which migrants wait in other countries while the U.S. asylum system adjudicates their cases. Mexico continues to reject Trump Administration pressure to accept such an agreement, understandably saying the huge backlog of cases in U.S. courts would cause migrants to remain

inside its borders for three or more years. Guatemala, under intense financial pressure from the U.S., accepted one of these deals in July, although the newly elected government there has indicated a desire to renegotiate. All these countries can also help by sharing intelligence, deploying their police and ensuring their border-control forces effectively crack down on human smugglers.

The risks facing Latin American countries are significant—the financial costs of supporting migrant populations are obvious, but there is also the attendant fear of political instability as each nation grapples with an increasing number of newcomers living for a long time in uncertain circumstances. The situation in Venezuela offers a useful example: there are currently over 4 million Venezuelans in neighboring countries like Colombia and Brazil. Mexico and Central American countries

see the difficulties those countries are having coping. But it's essential that they act as good partners in getting this situation under control.

Finally, public-private partnerships can assist in not only addressing the humanitarian crisis but also tackling the root causes of migration. These

have to be seeded by the U.S. government with foreign aid and tax incentives, and the recent decision to cut \$500 million in aid to the Northern Triangle nations of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala was counterproductive. U.S. corporations and nongovernmental organizations can help produce better conditions through job creation, higher labor standards and stronger free-trade arrangements.

These strategies are far less expensive than keeping 7,000 troops on the border or building a huge, unnecessary wall. They will also ultimately be more effective. The Trump Administration's effort to deter migrants by creating harsh conditions at the border may ease the flow in the short term, but any long-term solution will require much broader cooperation with the world to the south.

Admiral Stavridis (ret.) was the 16th Supreme Allied Commander for NATO and is an operating executive at the Carlyle Group



Soldiers install brackets and wire along the border wall in November

SHORT READS

► Highlights from stories on time.com/ideas

A lack of urgency

We know we must act now to reduce the effects of climate change, so why don't we? According to Bryan Walsh, author of *End Times*, one reason has to do with how our brains react to thoughts of the future: **“If we view our own selves in the future as virtual strangers, how much less do we care about the lives of generations yet to be born?”**

Knowing right from wrong

President Trump's remark that Jews who vote for Democrats are ignorant or disloyal was foolish and dangerous, writes Rabbi David Wolpe, and even if you like some of his policies on Israel, it's O.K. to condemn him when he's wrong: **“We have to be able to hold principle above personalities.”**

Checks and balances

Supreme Court decisions like *Citizens United* have allowed for unlimited election spending. Senator Tom Udall proposed a constitutional amendment to change that. **“If we want to make progress on the very real problems Americans face,” he writes, “we have to create a democracy that is fair and open to all.”**

THE RISK REPORT

Volatile politics rattle the global economy

By Ian Bremmer



THE ECONOMIC warning signs are flashing yellow. In Germany, the U.K., Italy, Brazil and Mexico, growth has stalled. In Japan, business confidence has turned negative for the first time since 2013. China's industrial output is growing at its slowest pace in 17 years. An inverted yield curve has U.S. economists on recession watch.

But the real uncertainty is coming from the biggest surge in decades of the kind of political volatility that is relevant to markets. Politically motivated trade fights are under way between countries that make up half the global economy—from the U.S. and China, to the U.S. and Europe, to South Korea and Japan. The most worrisome of these economically damaging political fights is the ongoing trade war between Washington and Beijing, which shows no signs of easing. President Trump wants to avoid any appearance of a climbdown in this fight. So does China's Xi Jinping, who must also signal strength in the growing confrontation with pro-democracy protesters in Hong Kong.

THERE ARE OTHER SOURCES of politically induced economic trouble. The IMF noted in July that “the projected recovery in growth between 2019 and 2020 in emerging market and developing economies relies on improved growth outcomes in stressed economies such as Argentina, Turkey, Iran, and Venezuela, and therefore is subject to significant uncertainty.”

At the moment, there's little sign of recovery in any of these four countries. In Argentina, voters have turned on President Mauricio Macri ahead of October elections. His likely successor, Alberto Fernández, may not prove as economically reckless as his choice of former President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner as running mate might suggest, but

he's hardly reassuring to investors. In Ankara, embattled President Recep Tayyip Erdogan continues trying to manipulate Turkey's economy to protect his political popularity. Iran, facing renewed U.S. sanctions, is lashing out at Europe for not helping ease its economic pain. And Venezuela's slow-motion catastrophe continues with little hope for a breakthrough to spare its people further pain.

In Asia, a bitter dispute over Japan's colonization of the Korean Peninsula from 1910 to 1945 has triggered a fight with dangerous consequences for both

countries. The result is an escalating conflict between Asia's second and fourth largest economies—at a time when the U.S.-China trade war is already weighing on both.

In Europe, the political stakes rose once again on Aug. 20 as Italian Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte abruptly announced his resignation. Market jitters continue, and expectations grow that far-

right leader Matteo Salvini will lead the country's next government. Salvini has been much more confrontational with the E.U. over questions of Italy's budget, and even if the top job forces him to moderate his tough talk, the fear of market-moving political turmoil—inside Italy and between Italy and the E.U.—will intensify.

Finally, new Prime Minister Boris Johnson insists Britain will leave the European Union by an Oct. 31 deadline with or without a deal on the future U.K.-E.U. relationship. His demands that the E.U. renegotiate the Brexit deal continue to meet strong resistance in Brussels, and indications that he might answer a no-confidence move against his government with a call for national elections after Oct. 31 have set teeth (and markets) on edge.

A decade ago, world leaders managed to cooperate their way out of danger during the financial crisis. But in a world of “my country first,” all this political friction will make that much harder. □

Politically motivated fights are under way between countries that make up half the global economy

HEALTH

What's in your water?

In the 1940s, the U.S. began adding fluoride to public water to prevent tooth decay. Since then, studies (some in animals) have suggested that high doses of fluoride could cause serious side effects like bone cancer and cognitive impairment.

For a new study in *JAMA Pediatrics*, researchers measured fluoride levels in urine samples of 512 expectant Canadian women during each trimester. Their children later took IQ tests at age 3 or 4. After adjusting for factors such as maternal education and household income, the researchers found that higher fluoride corresponded with lower IQ scores, most strongly in boys. The relationship was not statistically significant among girls.

Dr. Dimitri Christakis, editor in chief of *JAMA Pediatrics*, stresses that this was a single, observational study. “I’m not advocating, on the basis of this study, that we should necessarily change public policy,” he says, “but I would minimize exposure to fluoride” during an individual pregnancy.

—Jamie Ducharme



Vote for the woman because she's a woman

By Caitlin Moscatello

IN FEBRUARY, NEVADA BECAME THE FIRST STATE IN THE country with a female-majority legislature. By June, with the help of the state's Democratic governor, there were stronger laws ensuring equal pay for women, tougher penalties for domestic violence, better protection for sexual-assault survivors, more money for family-planning services, an end to a requirement that forced doctors to ask women their marital status before performing an abortion and an increased minimum wage. If anyone needed proof that having more female lawmakers benefits women, Nevada certainly makes a compelling case.

And yet female voters have often rejected the idea that women should vote with gender in mind. In 2016, Nancy Pelosi told Politico podcasters, "I don't think that any woman should be asked to vote for someone because she's a woman." Of course it would be ridiculous to suggest that someone hop party lines to vote along gender ones, or support a candidate who fails to prioritize what she sees as a key issue. But in primaries where contenders have similar ideologies, there's a strong argument to be made for backing a woman.

In their book *Gendered Vulnerability: How Women Work Harder to Stay in Office*, political scientists Jeffrey Lazarus and Amy Steigerwalt found that women in Congress are generally more effective than their male colleagues. They point to the fact that Congresswomen tend to have more staff in their district offices, serve on committees for issues that are of most interest to their constituents and are more likely to co-sponsor legislation that helps their voters. Separate research shows that female lawmakers bring more federal money back to their districts.

Women are more likely to run for elective office for the right reasons too. In her book *Women Transforming Congress*, political science professor Cindy Simon Rosenthal describes surveying lawmakers about why they got into politics. Most male legislators said it was something they'd always wanted to do. Female legislators, on the other hand, said they hoped to create social change and become more involved in their communities. In many instances, men run for office to *be* something while women run to *do* something.

Perhaps most significant, female lawmakers better represent women's interests, pushing laws in areas frequently prioritized by female voters, including health care, civil rights and issues affecting families. One major roadblock in getting such legislation passed, however, could be that there simply aren't enough women in office to usher it through; a 2018 *Political Science Research and Methods* study found that women's proposals "are systematically dismissed and disregarded throughout the legislative process, relative to those of men." It's impossible to say for sure whether equal representation would change that—women still make up only about a quarter of Congress and

29% of state legislatures—but it's reasonable to conclude that without more women in office, the issues women care about most will continue to be brushed aside.

HERE'S WHAT WE DO KNOW: white men account for about a third of the U.S. population but dominate our political system. It's not because they're more "authentic" or "electable" or any of the other vague terms thrown around when candidates are discussed, but rather because white men run for office more than anyone else. In the 2018 election cycle, women and people of color were just as likely as white men to win their races once they were on the ballot, according to a report by the Reflective Democracy Campaign. And with Democratic women running in record numbers, it was women—and, importantly, diverse women—who flipped the House from red to blue.

Imagine, in Washington and in state legislatures across the country, women being represented by people who innately understand their experiences because they have lived them. The only way to get there is to vote more women into office—and not only that, but women of color; LGBTQ women; immigrant women; women with young kids; women with no kids; women from different economic, religious and ethnic backgrounds. There are gains even in the trying. Having multiple women in the 2020 Democratic presidential primary has already changed the discourse of the election. In the first two debates, candidates talked about abortion access, the Equal Rights Amendment and the wage gap—with women onstage addressing those issues, the men have been forced to do so as well. The female candidates have also led the way on proposals for paid leave and affordable-child-care policies.

So go ahead, vote for her—and her, and her, and her—right down the ballot. If someone asks why, don't hesitate to give the short answer: Because she's a woman. It's as good a reason as any.

Moscatello is the author of See Jane Win: The Inspiring Story of the Women Changing American Politics

24%

Congressional
seats held
by women

29%

State legislature
seats held
by women

51%

Women in the
U.S. population

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*Christina Munce
waits tables at
Broad Street Diner
in Philadelphia,
where she's
worked for more
than eight years*

PHOTOGRAPHS BY
SASHA ARUTYUNOVA
FOR TIME





Economy

Living on Tips

LOW WAGES. MINIMAL BENEFITS.
UNPREDICTABLE HOURS.
FOR MORE AND MORE AMERICANS,
THIS IS THE FUTURE OF WORK.

**By Alana Semuels and
Malcolm Burnley/Philadelphia**

Economy

AFTER AN EIGHT-HOUR SHIFT ON HER feet, shuffling between a stuffy kitchen and the red vinyl booths of Broad Street Diner, Christina Munce is at a standstill in traffic. Still wearing the red polo shirt and black pants required for work at the diner in South Philadelphia, she's arguing with her colleague Donna Klum. They carpool most days to spare Klum a two-hour commute on public transportation that involves three transfers.

"It's not O.K. for people not to tip," Munce says from the driver's seat, the Philly skyline passing by. Klum believes that bad karma will catch up with non-tippers, but Munce, a single mother who relies on tips to live, doesn't care much about their fate. "I have to make sure that my daughter has a roof over her head," she says. The desire for cash over karma is understandable: Munce's base pay is \$2.83 an hour.

The decade-long economic expansion has been a boon to those at the top of the economic ladder. But it left millions of workers behind, particularly the 4.4 million workers who rely on tips to earn a living, fully two-thirds of them women. Even as wages have crept up—if slowly—in other sectors of the economy, the minimum wage for waitresses and other tipped workers hasn't budged since 1991. Indeed, there is an entirely separate federal minimum wage for those who live on tips. It varies by state from as low as \$2.13 (the federal tipped minimum wage) in 17 states including Texas, Nebraska and Virginia, up to \$9.35 in Hawaii. In 36 states, the tipped minimum wage is under \$5 an hour. Legally, employers are supposed to make up the difference when tips don't get servers to the minimum wage, but some restaurants don't track this closely and the law is rarely enforced.

Waitresses are emblematic of the type of job expected to grow most in the American economy in the next decade—low-wage service work with no guaranteed hours or income. Though high-paying service jobs have been growing quickly in recent months, middle-wage jobs are growing more slowly and could decline sharply in the event of a

recession, says Mark Zandi, chief economist with Moody's Analytics. Those who lose their jobs in a recession usually move down, not up, the pay scale. Jobs like personal-care aide (median annual wage \$24,020), food-prep worker (\$21,250) and waitstaff (\$21,780) are among the fastest-growing occupations in America, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS). They have much in common with the burgeoning gig economy, in which people turn to apps in the hope of getting shifts delivering food, driving passengers and cleaning houses.

This "sometimes" work has put the stress of earning a weekly wage, paying for health insurance and saving for retirement squarely on the shoulders of workers. Munce is on food stamps and Medicaid, and many days doesn't make it to the federal minimum wage of \$7.25 an hour. One of her recent paychecks read \$58.67 for 49 hours worked. Add in the \$245 she took home in tips, and she made about \$6.20 an hour. She wants to work 40-hour weeks, but some days the diner is slow and she gets sent home early. "I don't drink, I don't smoke, all I do is save money," Munce says.

But these employers are hiring, and these jobs are becoming a fallback for people whose former jobs placed them solidly in the middle class. Food-service jobs have grown nearly 50% over the past two decades, to 12.2 million, according to the BLS. They are on track to surpass America's manufacturing workforce, which, at 12.8 million, has fallen 25% over the same period.

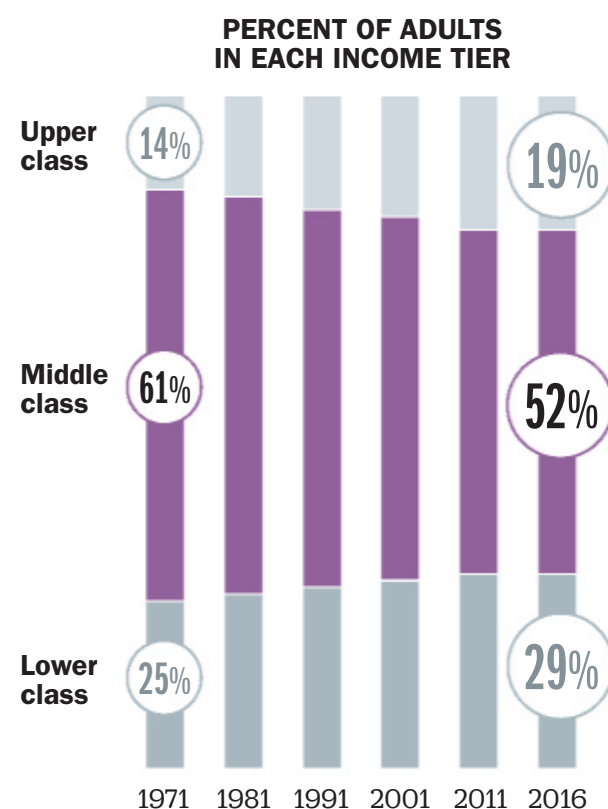
Markets have swung wildly in recent weeks on fears of a possible recession, which could speed up the nation's continuing shift from one that makes things to one that serves things. The last recession, from 2007 to 2009, took a sharp toll on industries that make things in America, with construction and manufacturing each losing 1.9 million jobs in the five years after the recession began. In contrast, industries like health care and food service added hundreds of thousands of jobs in the same period.

If another recession starts, "the primary hit is going to generally be in sectors that don't involve providing basic services to other people," says Jacob Vigdor, an economist at the University of Washington. On Aug. 20, President Trump,

Workers at the tipping point

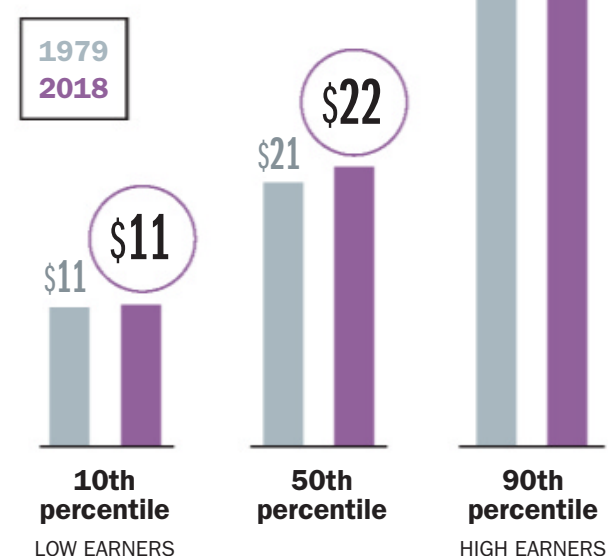
1 THE INCOME GAP HAS WIDENED OVER DECADES

The middle class has shifted into growing populations of rich and poor



Lower-income earners have faced stagnant wages while top earners have enjoyed wage gains

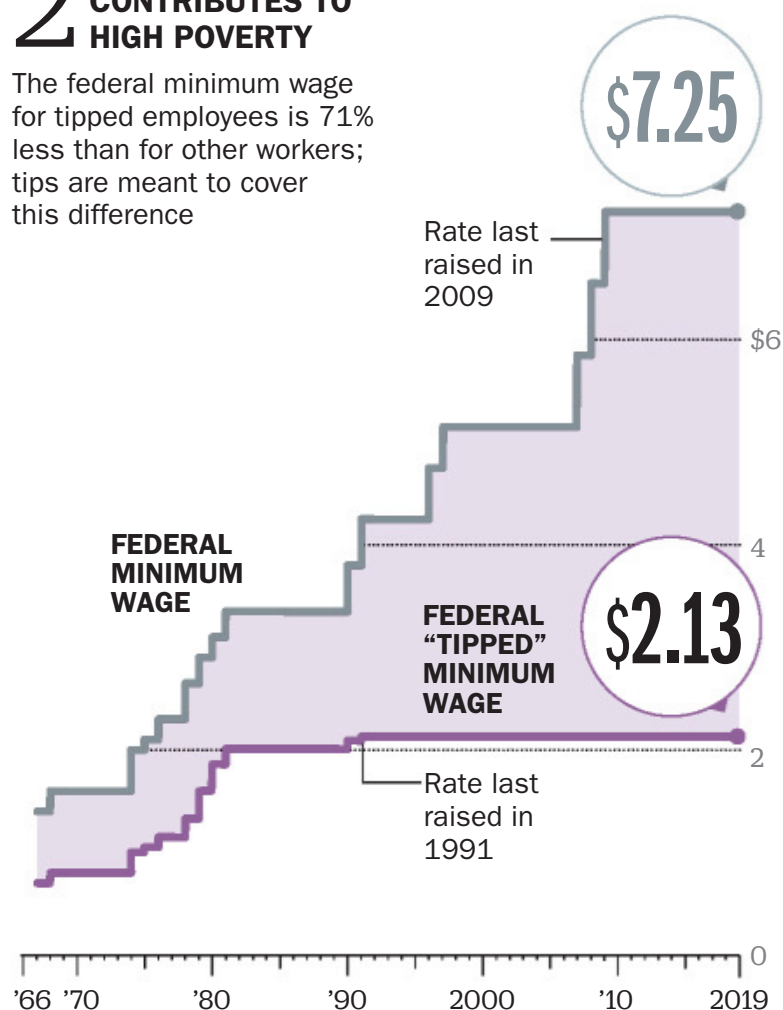
HOURLY WAGES (IN 2018 DOLLARS)



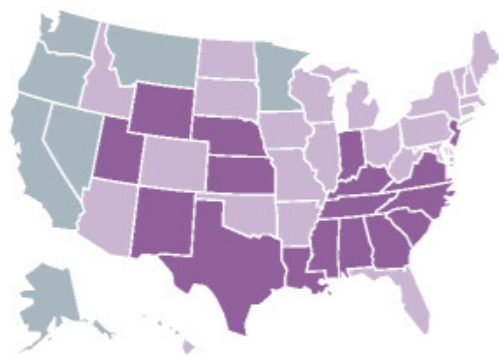
*This story was produced in partnership with **The Fuller Project**, a nonprofit newsroom that reports on issues impacting women*

2 A TWO-TIERED SYSTEM CONTRIBUTES TO HIGH POVERTY

The federal minimum wage for tipped employees is 71% less than for other workers; tips are meant to cover this difference



43 states use the two-tiered system: 17 follow the \$2.13 federal tipped rate, while 26 offer more than \$2.13. Seven states have one minimum wage for all workers

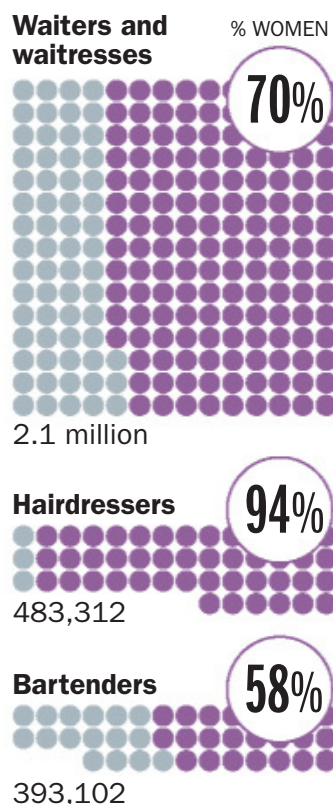


POVERTY RATES (2013–15)

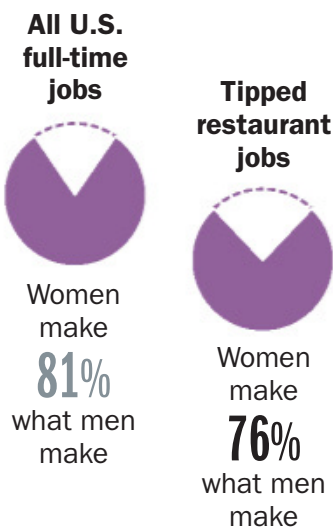
	States with \$2.13 federal minimum wage for tipped jobs	States with one minimum wage for tipped and non-tipped jobs
Non-tipped workers	6.7%	6.2%
Tipped workers	14.8%	11.7%

3 WOMEN ARE MORE AFFECTED

In the U.S., more than 4 million people work for tips; 2 in 3 are women



There is a stark gender pay gap in tipping jobs; a 2015 study found that female restaurant workers earned \$9.81 an hour on average while their male co-workers made \$12.95



while declaring the economy still strong, said the Administration is examining various options to bolster the economy. Still, whenever the next recession comes, more workers will have to turn to the booming service industry, where low wages and unstable hours are the norm.

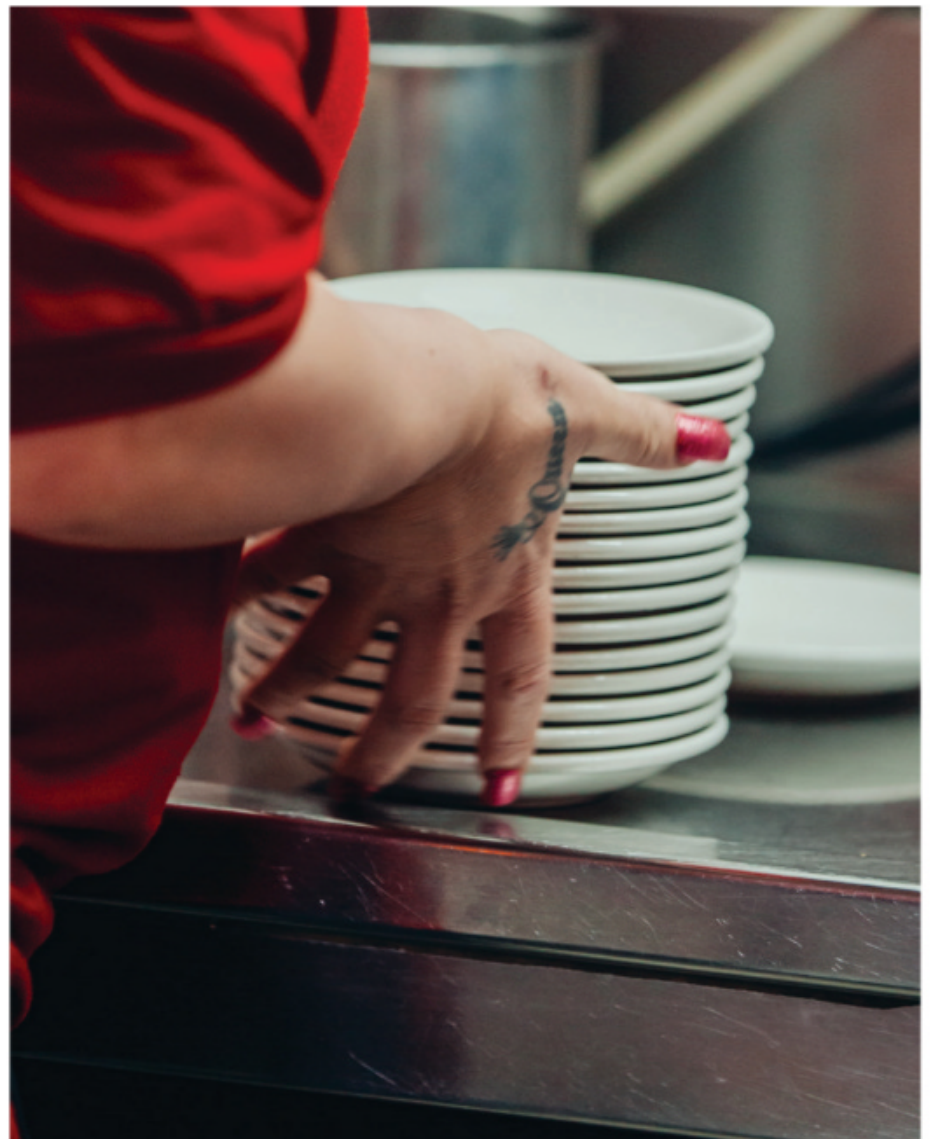
CHRISTINA MUNCE DIDN'T PLAN to be a waitress. She was in school studying massage therapy when, at 21, she got pregnant, and started waiting tables to put away the cash she would need as a young mother. She doesn't regret a thing—her daughter, now 11, is her whole world, her name tattooed in cursive on Munce's forearm. Pictures of the two posing together dominate the otherwise blank walls of their government-subsidized two-bedroom apartment. But being a single parent has limited Munce's job options, since she needs the flexibility to take care of her daughter.

Tipped workers have always been an underclass in America. The concept was popularized in 1865, when some formerly enslaved people found employment as waiters, barbers and porters; still seen as a servant class, they were hired to serve. Many employers refused to pay them, instead suggesting that patrons tip for their service. A 1966 law tried to bring some measure of security to these jobs, requiring employers to pay a small base wage that would bring tipped workers up to the federal minimum wage when combined with their tips. In 1991, the tipped minimum wage was equal to 50% of the value of the overall minimum wage, but it's stayed at \$2.13 since then, as the minimum wage has nearly doubled. In 1996, President Bill Clinton signed legislation that froze the wage for tipped workers at that amount. It hasn't changed since.

The regular minimum wage has doubled in that time. If the tipped minimum wage had even risen with inflation since 1991, it would be \$6 an hour, according to research from Sylvia Allegretto, co-chair of the Center on Wage and Employment Dynamics at the University of California, Berkeley. Only 12 states currently pay waitstaff above that.

The serving workforce remains a microcosm of pay disparities in the broader economy. According to 2011–2013 data from the Economic Policy Institute, people of color make up nearly

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Munce works eight-hour shifts at Broad Street Diner for \$2.83 an hour; her tips are supposed to get her to \$7.25 an hour, but they often don't

40% of the workforce that falls under federal tipped-minimum-wage rules, which includes nail-salon workers and car-wash attendants. The flexibility of restaurant work is in part why more than a million single mothers are on the job. After eight years working at the 24-hour diner, Munce, 32, mostly gets the shifts that she wants—working breakfast and lunch and leaving by 3 p.m. when her daughter gets out of school—so for that, she’s grateful. When her daughter got bullied at school and Munce had to pick her up, Munce was able to get other waitresses to cover for her without getting in trouble for calling off work—though of course this also meant she didn’t get paid. When her daughter was younger and Munce couldn’t find anyone to watch her, she’d bring her daughter to the diner and have her sit quietly in a booth with crayons.

Half a century ago, people like Munce without a college education could expect to make a middle-class wage. But in recent years, as male-dominated manufacturing jobs have been outsourced or automated, women are contributing more to their families’ paychecks, and more of the 40% of Americans with no more than a high school education are being pushed into the service sector—as waitresses, domestic workers, hairdressers and Uber drivers.

Consumer spending on restaurants surpassed spending in grocery stores for the first time in 2015, and to support that, the BLS projects more than 500,000 food-serving job vacancies between 2016 and 2026, a higher number of openings than in all but three occupations it tracks.

“We’re not a sliver of the economy,” says Saru Jayaraman, co-founder of the Restaurant Opportunities Center, an advocacy organization pushing to eliminate the tipped minimum wage. “We’re increasingly the jobs that are available to every new entrant into the economy, including people being laid off from other sectors.”

Karen Baker, 52, one of Munce’s managers at Broad Street Diner, says she once made \$90,000 a year as an assistant production manager in a plant that made plastic soda bottles. When the plant moved to Iowa, she didn’t want to uproot her family so she returned to the service industry. “That’s one good thing—if you can’t find a job anywhere else, you can

VIEWPOINT

The economy under Trump is very good. But don’t be fooled

By Alan Blinder

DONALD TRUMP IS now a decided underdog for re-election—almost regardless of whom the Democrats put up against him. But his political stock would be even lower were it not for the strong economy. That’s his, *ahem*, trump card.

Yet there are questions about how long the good times will continue to roll.

Make no mistake about it: the economy really is in a very good place—even if the stock market is down from its highs and extremely volatile on a day-to-day basis. The two are not the same thing.

To what extent does Trump deserve credit? I’d say a little. He inherited a strong economy from Barack Obama, who had inherited a catastrophe from George W. Bush. The unemployment rate, which peaked at 10% in October 2009, was already down to 4.7% when Obama left the White House. Since Trump moved in, it has inched down to 3.7%—which, as the President likes to point out, is roughly a 50-year low.

The tax cut Trump signed in December 2017—while horribly structured, regressive and fiscally irresponsible—did put more money into some people’s pockets and did enhance incentives to invest. It gave the economy a sugar high, though not a big one. Real GDP growth accelerated from around 2.1% per year over the 12 quarters before the tax cut to an average of 3.1% over the next four quarters. Since then, though, the growth rate has retreated to 2.1%.

THE DAMAGE Trump has done to the economy will probably prove to be more important, however. First, viewing climate change as a Chinese hoax is not just buffoonish, it’s potentially tragic, both in terms of economic losses and human suffering. Second, his tax cuts have ballooned the federal budget deficit into the trillion-dollar range, and someday the national credit-card bill will come due. But the more immediate threat is that, thanks to Trump, the whole world has a dangerous trade war on its hands.

As you may have noticed, the stock market now dances to the daily news from the trade front, rising on happy talk and falling on bellicose words or acts. Turns out that trade wars are neither “good” nor “easy to win”—as any economist could have told the President, had he asked.

But wasn’t China a bad actor in international trade for years? Didn’t they “deserve” this? Well, sort of, but their main transgression was not selling Americans a lot of stuff they want. Rather, it was a host of problems surrounding intellectual-property (IP) protection—ranging from forcing foreign companies to share technologies with Chinese firms to outright theft. When Obama left office, we had a promising way to deal with these problems. The Trans-Pacific Partnership included strong IP protections, put there at our behest. It seems likely that China, virtually the only Pacific Rim nation left out of the TPP, would have wanted in, and to do so, it would have had to accept these provisions. But we’ll never know because Trump, in one of his first rash acts as President, foolishly pulled us out.

So now we’re facing a trade war—and it’s not over what really matters (IP protection), but over the fact that China sells more to us than we sell to them. So what? I sell far more to Princeton University than Princeton sells to me. Does that make Princeton a victim?

Trump wants us to believe that the trade deficit with China is costing America millions of jobs. Really? With the unemployment rate at a 50-year low? He also wants us to believe that Americans don’t pay for the tariffs. I know he’s a great con man. But this is all a bit much.

It’s hard to see how the short-term sugar high can come close to balancing the long-term costs of ignoring climate change, the large budget deficits and the trade war. Actually, not hard. Impossible.

Blinder, a former vice chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve, is an economics professor at Princeton University

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always find a job waitressing,” she says.

This is true of many service jobs, says David Autor, an economist at MIT who studies the future of work. But as job seekers are flooding into those fields, they’re being met with low pay, few benefits and no raises as they age and gain more expertise. In 1980, 43% of workers without a college education were in middle-skill jobs; by 2016, that number had dropped to 29%, Autor says.

A raise for tipped workers, then, could mean a raise for middle-class families across the country, says Heidi Shierholz, an economist at the left-leaning Economic Policy Institute who worked in the Department of Labor under President Obama. In the seven states where servers are paid the regular minimum wage for those states before tips, including Minnesota and Oregon, the poverty rate for waitstaff and bartenders is 11.1%, according to the Economic Policy Institute. Where there’s a separate tipped wage, the poverty rate among waitstaff is 18.5%.

Under Pennsylvania’s \$2.83-an-hour tipped minimum wage, Baker’s colleague Debbie Aladean, 74, says she can’t retire because she has so little Social Security. Olivia Austin, a 30-year-old waitress in rural Pennsylvania, started driving across the border to a restaurant in New York, where there was a higher minimum wage, because she couldn’t save any money as a waitress in Pennsylvania. “Most of the people I worked with could barely pay their rent,” she says.

Of course, some do quite well in the restaurant industry—especially white men, who are more frequently employed by fine-dining establishments. According to the National Restaurant Association (NRA), a lobbying group that represents more than 500,000 restaurant businesses, the median hourly earnings of servers, including tips, actually ranges from \$19 to \$25 an hour. Asking owners to do away with tipping and pay workers a \$15-an-hour set wage puts too much burden on business owners and could sink one of the economy’s strongest-growing sectors, they say.

“We need a commonsense approach to the minimum wage that reflects the economic realities of each region, because \$15 in New York is not \$15 in Alabama,” says Sean Kennedy, the executive vice

president of public affairs for the NRA.

The owner of Broad Street Diner, Michael Petrogiannis, is supportive of raising wages. “If [the minimum wage] goes to \$15 an hour, then we’ll go to \$15 an hour, no problem. I support that,” he says. He leaves reporting tips up to the waitstaff, and his employees have not complained about being shorted. “We want them to make whatever they have to make.”

THE STRENGTH of the service sector offers a sort of tenuous job security for waitresses, but it comes with few protections. Sexual harassment is rampant. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission receives more complaints of sexual harassment from the restaurant industry—more than 10,000 from 1995 to 2016—than from any other industry. Many waitresses have come to expect it. On a shift in July, Munce chirped back at offhanded sexual comments as readily as she dished out nicknames to regulars. When a man called her “thick and delicious” on his way out the door, she

▲
Munce cuddles with her daughter in their apartment in southwest Philadelphia

replied, “I think you mean tiny and tasty,” without skipping a beat.

After 12 years of waitressing, Munce’s somewhat hardened to the disrespect, but for her, the fickleness of the work is a bigger problem when it affects her family’s well-being. Her daily income depends on whether people decide to brave the heat or snow to dine out the day she’s working. It depends on whether customers order the \$5.29 breakfast special or the \$16.99 New York sirloin strip with two eggs, and whether they leave 20% of their bill. It depends on how many other waitresses are working that day, all hungry for tables.

This lack of certainty is stressful for waitresses, but as more workers face this reality, it has implications for the broader American economy, which relies on consumer spending to drive growth. Munce has saved about \$1,000 by putting aside every \$5 bill she earns in tips, but she can’t





seem to ever get ahead. During a recent shift, she was staring down a weekend where she'd need cash for a cake for her daughter's 11th-birthday party, \$650 for a new evaporator for her car and quarters for the laundry. She feels the weight of taking a day without tips, wondering whether she'll have enough to pay for back-to-school season, or the money that finally allowed her to get an air conditioner for her apartment. "My mind is always calculating," she says of each tip, good or bad. Though the women at the diner will chip in and pay for one another's expenses in case of emergency—a car accident, a babysitter or even funeral costs—slow shifts mean they'll have to lean more on the one free meal they get at work, or make another trip to the food bank, or dip into whatever cash they have stored away from a better week.

Because their pay is so unpredictable, the women at Broad Street Diner sometimes have to pull double or triple shifts when they're short on cash. The day before Munce drove Klum home, Klum had

worked her regular day shift, taken her 5-year-old daughter to a public splash park, and then gotten a call from her manager at 11 p.m. to come in for a night shift three hours later. Klum paid for a Lyft to the diner, since public transportation doesn't run to her apartment after midnight, then worked a double shift, from 2 a.m. to 3 p.m. "The diner's been slow, so I really needed it," Klum says. But as bad as the money can be, it's helpful to be able to go home with cash in hand. She still holds out for the chance of one big payday, obsessing over YouTube videos where women are left a \$12,000 tip. But when Munce suggests that they would be better off getting a fair hourly wage rather than depending on tips, Klum balks. "I would never do this without tips," she says.

RESTAURANT OWNERS SAY that the problem isn't low wages, or even low tips—it's that the federal government should enforce its requirement that waitresses make at least the minimum wage after tips. But the sheer number of restaurants in America—an estimated 650,000 and growing—makes that difficult.

"We could have spent all of our time on tipped-minimum-wage enforcement because the violations are so pervasive," says David Weil, who was the head of the Wage and Hour Division in the Department of Labor under President Obama. Weil's division did 5,000 investigations into the restaurant sector in his time in the department, but "we were just scratching the surface," he says.

The Trump Administration last year revoked an Obama-era rule that would have increased enforcement on restaurants that make tipped employees spend more than 20% of their time on non-tipped work.

The federal government does help low-wage workers like waitresses in other ways—with food stamps, subsidized housing and health care. Some cities have raised their own tipped minimum wages; others have opened wage-and-hour enforcement offices, but investigations on behalf of tipped workers often remain a low priority. In Philadelphia, a branch of the Mayor's Office of Labor looks into complaints of wage theft. But the city's messaging suggests it devotes more staff and resources to its long-standing offices guaranteeing fair pay for

VIEWPOINT

No, a recession is not imminent

By Douglas Holtz-Eakin

RECENT ECONOMIC COMMENTARY has tended to focus on White House tactics and market volatility, but it is useful to assess both the good and the bad of the President's economic stewardship.

There has been a meaningful improvement in the pace of economic growth, propelled mostly by business investment that had seemed dead in the water—and there is no doubt Trump's policies deserve credit. His U-turn on regulation offered a dramatic reduction in operating costs for businesses, and the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act not only lowered taxes but featured reforms to business taxation that improved the incentives to invest domestically and keep headquarters in the U.S.

Yet the report card is hardly one of straight A's. The President's trade policies are the major obstacle to growth and leave him with a mixed record. The aluminum and steel tariffs hurt consumers of metals far more than they helped U.S. producers. The negotiations to transform the North American Free Trade Agreement into the United States–Mexico–Canada Agreement were costly and achieved little—if the deal even gets ratified. The periodic threats of tariffs on Mexico or on imported autos or other goods and trading partners are part of an environment that has suppressed trade and diminished global growth, with negative effects on the U.S. economy. And while Trump correctly identified China as the culprit, his punitive-tariffs approach amounted to a \$100 billion (annualized) tax hike on Americans.

It's true that the economy has grown more slowly lately, but the obsession with an imminent downturn stems from too much focus on the daily ups and downs of the market. The household sector remains nearly three-quarters of the U.S. economy and displays a healthy mix of low unemployment and rising wages. As long as that continues, we will avoid a recession.

Holtz-Eakin, a former director of the Congressional Budget Office and adviser to John McCain, is president of the American Action Forum

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construction and government workers; its department that enforces wage-theft complaints was formed in 2015 and has only four employees. The chief of staff of the Mayor's Office of Labor, Manny Citron, who is responsible for enforcement, says that although he was "not a pro on what our labor law says," he believed that people who didn't earn \$7.25 an hour with tips "could just be a bad waiter," and he falsely asserted that state law guarantees only \$2.83 an hour. Without any documentation showing that cash tips didn't bring waitresses to the minimum wage, he says, it's hard for his office to take any action.

In July, the House passed the Raise the Wage Act, which would phase out the tipped minimum wage nationwide by 2027, eventually bringing all low-wage workers to \$15 an hour. "Every member of this institution should be fighting to put more money in the pockets of workers in their communities," Speaker Nancy Pelosi said on the House floor when the bill was passed. In 2019 alone, at least 12 states as politically varied as Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Indiana introduced legislation to end the tipped minimum wage.

But the Raise the Wage Act has little chance of advancing in the GOP-controlled Senate. It has vocal opponents in the NRA and the Restaurant Workers of America (RWA), a group of servers who want to keep tipping. "It's a system that works," says Joshua Chaisson, a Maine waiter who is a co-founder of the RWA.

Restaurant owners say they aren't the ones who should pay the price of America's shift to a service economy. "Today, the middle class has been gutted, but [lawmakers] are trying to legislate entry-level low-skilled jobs into living-wage jobs where you can raise a family in New York, one of the most expensive places in the world," says Andrew Riggie, executive director of the New York City Hospitality Alliance, which represents hotels and restaurants. "We can't address all societal ills on the shoulders of small-business owners."

IN THE LONG, FINAL DAYS of summer, business at Broad Street Diner has been slow. Munce tries to stay positive. The customers and staff of Broad Street Diner are her family, more or less, and not just because her sister, Jeanne, is also a waitress there. Munce speaks fondly of one of her regulars, Bill, an

VIEWPOINT

We need bipartisanship to fix the economy. That seems impossible now

By Barney Frank

GROWING UNEASINESS ABOUT a possible slowdown in our economy has raised the question of how a divided government will respond to bad news. A recent historical precedent offers both encouragement and discouragement.

In 2008, constructive cooperation between Republican President George W. Bush and a Democratic Congress kept a bad situation from getting much worse. Discussions about partisanship today call to mind the description of a form of amnesia in which the sufferers forget everything except their grudges. Memories of partisan battles stay fresh, while examples of the parties working together are ignored.

Exhibit A is Speaker Nancy Pelosi's reputation. She was demonized throughout the 2018 campaign as hyperpartisan, despite leading the Democratic majority to come to the aid of Bush in 2008. Notably, that was a presidential-election year, when the motivation for congressional leaders opposed to the President to sit by and benefit from his troubles is strong. But that January, Pelosi not only responded to the Administration's plea for an antirecession program but, in deference to the White House's antispending obsession, agreed to rely on tax rebates for the short-term stimulus. Then, less than two months before the election, Bush officials

came to Congress seeking billions to prevent the impending collapse of the global economy. Again Democratic leaders agreed to help. Senator Mitch McConnell would later reciprocate by announcing that the defeat of President Obama in 2012 was his No. 1 priority.

Despite this rebuff, I believe congressional Democrats would still work with the Administration to avert an economic downturn if it were possible for them to do so. The issue is that our ability to work in a cooperative manner in 2008 was based on the existence of a coherent, unified, rational approach from the President and his chief economic officials. The sad reality is that none of these adjectives are likely to apply later this year or next. Steven Mnuchin vs. Mick Mulvaney vs. Larry Kudlow vs. Jerome Powell vs. Peter Navarro multiplied by random tweets adds up to an incoherence that will have Democrats shaking our heads, not Administration officials' hands.

In 2008, when it came to working with Bush's economic team, we said yes when asked if we could go there. Sadly, the answer to that question if it's posed again comes from Gertrude Stein: "There is no there there."

Frank, a Democrat, is the former chairman of the House Committee on Financial Services

elderly man who likes his toast dark as a hockey puck. "They've got the best girls in here, and I'll tell ya, not one grouch," Bill says to no audience in particular one day this summer.

For Munce, it all adds up: the freebies, the walkouts, the cops receiving a 50% discount, the mess-ups from the kitchen—each one a knock to her take-home pay. "I am a people person. But at the end of the day, your compliments and smiles are not enough," she says during one of her shifts, a sheen of sweat on her forehead.

She hopes she can give her daughter a better life than she had growing up. Her

dad served in Vietnam and her mom always scraped by on odd jobs, she says, but it's harder to string together a living these days. She lives a couple of miles from where she grew up. Is she really doing better than they did? She tells her daughter that education is the most important thing, that she needs to get good grades, no matter what. "I say, 'I just want you to be better than me,'" she says. Not that she'd steer her daughter away from waitressing, necessarily. If you're a people person, Munce says, it can be fun to talk to strangers all day. Depending on them for tips, though, is something else. □

*Two-thirds of
tipped workers
in America are
women, and female
waitstaff make less
than men do*



World



LIVING IN LIMBO

DNA tests could help migrants
identify loved ones separated at sea.
But politics stands in the way

**BY CHARLOTTE MCDONALD-GIBSON/
THE HAGUE**

Die USA aus. 1851 eröffnete er seinen ersten Kladen und
Kaufmann in Madison und brachte es schnell zum ver-
mögenden Textilaufmann. Er war der erste Präsident der
jüdischen Bürger der Stadt und von 1882-85 Kurator der Wis-
consin Historical Society. Seine Ehefrau Caroline Klausen geb.
Springer (1825 - 1891) wanderte aus Bayern aus und wirkte
als Geschäftsfrau in der Firma ihres Ehemanns.

Der Maler Nicola Marschall wurde 1829 in St. Wendel als
Sohn des Tabakfabrikanten Emanuel Marschall und seiner
Ehefrau Margarethe geboren. Auf dem Gelände der einstigen
Marschall-Tabakfabrik befindet sich heute das Unternehm-
er- und Technologiezentrum (UTZ). Nicola Marschall wanderte
1849 nach Alabama aus und erwarb alldort hohes Ansehen
als Maler. Auch unterrichtete er an einer Schule für höhere
Töchter in Marion, Perry County. Kurz vor Ausbruch des Ame-
rikanischen Bürgerkriegs erhielt er 1861 den Auftrag, Fahnen
(Stars and Bars) und Uniform der Südstaaten zu entwerfen.
1873 zog er nach Louisville (Kentucky), wo er bis zu seinem
Tod im Jahre 1917 als renommierter Porträtmaler wirkte. Eine
Gedenktafel in Louisville erinnert an sein Lebenswerk.

1920 stifteten die Nachfahren der Klausens dem Hauskult auf
und schenkten die beiden Ölbilder der Wisconsin Historical
Society. 1970 verkaufte diese die Bilder. 2004 erwarb Jim Reid
aus Irvington, Virginia die beiden Bilder bei einem Händler der
Stadt, der sie in North Carolina gekauft hatte. Jim Reid spen-
dete die Gemälde 2005 dem Morris Museum of Art.

Rechenform Wolfgang Ulbrich



Walid Khalil Murad
waits in the foyer
of his German-
language school in
Sankt Wendel, a
southern German
town, on July 25

When Walid Khalil Murad drifts off to sleep, he can feel the warmth of his three small children in bed beside him. They are there in his dreams too, playing happily together.

There is 3-year-old Nishtiman, with eyes like her father's and the same stubborn spirit, and his sons Nashwan, 5, and Nashat, 6, all battling for a place on Murad's lap. He can touch them, talk to them, and he is as happy as he has ever been.

Then Murad wakes up, and they are gone. Sometimes he cries. Sometimes he drinks. Sometimes he thinks about the life jacket that kept him afloat as he drifted away from the sinking boat just a few kilometers from the Greek coast, and how he imagines he had slipped it off and sunk to the bottom of the Aegean Sea along with everything he loved.

He tried to tug his life jacket off that cold, dark morning in December 2015 when he realized that the smuggler's boat had gone beneath the waves with his family still trapped in the cabin. The men had been traveling on the deck and were flung into the rough seas, powerless to help the women and children as they sank along with the capsized vessel.

A friend also in the water shouted over the waves at him to stop—maybe the Greek coast guard would come soon, maybe his family would be saved, maybe they would have a happy life in Europe. But none of those maybes came true. Murad has never seen Nishtiman, Nashwan, Nashat or his wife Jinar again.

"I am lost," says Murad, 34, who owned two shops in the Iraqi city of Sinjar before Islamic State fighters forced him to take his family and flee. He casts his sunken eyes to the ceiling and struggles to continue through tears.

"Sometimes I talk to myself—I literally talk to myself—and say, 'Maybe, just maybe, they are still alive,' then I say to myself immediately after that, 'But the sea was very difficult; they did not have a chance.'"

There are many obstacles standing between Murad and the truth about what happened to his wife and children: chaotic record keeping in countries where bodies wash up on beaches; an apathetic public; far-right governments with no interest in the plight of refugees. Now there is also some hope, not just for Murad but for all the relatives of the at least 23,000 people who have died or gone missing since 2011 trying to cross the Mediterranean. After years of lobbying, an international organization has persuaded some countries to start work on identifying the dead using DNA technology—and finally giving their families some form of closure.

But behind this outwardly simple effort are layers of institutional and political complexities, which are threatening the future of the project before it has even properly started. In the meantime, Murad waits for news of his family, caught in limbo between hope and grief.

"I think it would have been better if I was with them," says Murad, who eventually was resettled in Germany. "I find it very difficult to live this life."

IN A SPARKLING WHITE BUILDING alongside a canal in the Dutch city of the Hague, scientists are at work. In this sterile, highly regulated environment, test



tubes and refrigeration units store bone fragments, blood samples and other DNA samples from some of the most harrowing events of the past few decades.

Since its founding in 1996, the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) has quietly pioneered some of the most advanced DNA-identification technology in the world. It began at the request of President Bill Clinton to try and identify the 40,000 people missing in the wars in the former Yugoslavia. In the past two decades, it has put a name to 70% of those victims, and its work on that conflict continues. In 2015 the ICMP moved its main office from Sarajevo to the Hague—a city already home to other



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Murad shows the only photograph he has of his family. He now lives in Theley, a village in Germany

peace- and justice-based institutions like the International Criminal Court—reflecting the expansion of its mission. Today it employs more than 140 people and is called on for any event where large numbers have gone missing—Hurricane Katrina, the 2004 Asian tsunami, the MH 17 crash over Ukraine, the California wildfires and the recent wars in Syria and Iraq. But its newest endeavor, identifying lost asylum seekers across

Europe, may be one of the hardest yet.

“It is unprecedented,” says Kathryne Bomberger, director-general of the ICMP. “Europe hasn’t experienced such a large number of missing persons in a long time, and they are missing migrants.” In these politically volatile times, when nationalist parties who’ve displayed little outward concern for refugees have made inroads across Europe, the ICMP’s task is even more difficult.

“You can use the best technologies in the world,” says Bomberger, who is American, “but the political will in the end is what matters the most.”

The mechanics of the process are simple in theory: the countries that have found migrant bodies on their soil—mostly southern European nations like Italy, Greece, Malta and Spain—would take DNA samples and any other identifying characteristics and upload this information to a centralized database maintained by the ICMP. Meanwhile, anyone searching for a missing relative would fill in a form and give a DNA sample using a simple saliva or pinprick blood test that can be done at home. The results of that are uploaded to a second database, and the two data sets are then compared for matches.

But none of this can happen without the full support of the governments involved. The hundreds of thousands of refugees who survived the journey to Europe are now facing a surge in support for far-right leaders. For such politicians, “these people [are] without value, and particularly in death they deserve nothing from us,” says Simon Robins, a researcher on missing migrants with the University of York’s Centre for Applied Human Rights.

“If you find a body in London on the street, the authorities would make every effort to identify it,” Robins says. But when a body washes up on a beach in Greece or Italy, “the fact that that person’s racial origins suggest they may not be a citizen means that no investigation is conducted.”

And relatives of those who died in the Mediterranean have very little lobbying power. Many of the shipwreck survivors who make it to Europe are not able to

vote. Family members in the countries of origin are usually very poor or living in war zones.

Bomberger says the ICMP started pressuring governments to work on identifying missing migrants in 2011, when the Arab Spring led to the first large groups of refugees crossing the Mediterranean in overcrowded boats, and death tolls started to rise. The ICMP received \$400,000 from the Swiss government in late 2017—just about enough money to start the first phase of the project: bringing Italy, Greece, Malta and Cyprus together to sign an agreement and start work on the technicalities of the search. But no more pledges have been made, although Bomberger says the researchers need at least the same amount again.

When the four countries met for a second time in the Hague on June 13 of this year, the Italian government refused to sign the final declaration vowing to enhance cooperation for the search. Since the country’s far-right League party formed a coalition government in 2018, with its leader Matteo Salvini in the key post of Interior Minister, Italy has implemented some of Europe’s harshest policies

toward migrants and refugees. Salvini, criticized as an “opportunist” by Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte, who resigned on Aug. 20, has closed Italy’s ports to migrant rescue ships and has started bulldozing refugee settlements.

Bomberger remains confident that Italy will eventually cooperate. “It’s early days, so it’s not unusual that there are political issues at the beginning,” she says. “I think we can overcome it.”

But for relatives of the dead like Murad’s, the political hostility and lack of empathy shown by countries like Italy feels like yet another indignity. “I want you to put yourself in my place, not for a day, just for one minute—just imagine that you lost your family the same way I lost my family,” Murad says.

INGRID GUDMUNDSSON understands what Murad is going through. Her daughter Linda was 30 years old, pregnant with

**AT LEAST 23,000
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CROSS THE
MEDITERRANEAN**

World

her second child and on vacation in Thailand with her 1-year-old daughter Mira when a tsunami crashed into the coastline on Dec. 26, 2004. The disaster affected 14 countries and killed an estimated 230,000 people.

Gudmundsson was at home in Sweden when she saw the news. At first she didn't think her daughter and granddaughter could be in danger. But then Linda didn't answer her phone.

"After some days I began to realize what happened. But even in that time, I thought, I know my daughter; she is 30 years old, athletic, strong and very stubborn," Gudmundsson says. "I thought she must be somewhere with broken legs or arms or no voice. I went through it many, many times with different scenarios. It was terrible to not know anything."

Carina Heeke, a psychologist specializing in grief at the Freie University Berlin, has studied the differences between relatives of those missing and those confirmed dead. She found that the people who display the most trauma are those who cling to hope that their loved one is alive.

"We assume that hope is a good thing," she tells *TIME*. "But the problem is that although there may be hope, the person still is not there. So usually it comes with a lot of consequences."

For many, the search begins to consume their lives. In Mexico, a group of mothers whose children disappeared in the drug-cartel wars started digging up mass graves themselves. In Japan, a father learned to scuba dive so he could spend weekends at the bottom of the sea searching for a daughter he lost in the March 2011 tsunami.

Murad lives to share his own pain. He gives talks at ICMP events. He grieves in public, letting everyone see the rawness of his unfathomable loss, sharing everything he can about his family even as tears stream down his face, in the hope that this will jolt people out of apathy and someone, somewhere, will help him find Nishtiman, Nashwan and Nashat. "At least I could go and visit their graves, and just know that they are there," he says.

For Gudmundsson, the search for the truth ended a few months after the tsunami. In March 2005, her daughter

Linda's body was identified. Her DNA had been retrieved from her dental records. But Mira was a baby. She did not have many teeth. She was finally identified in July 2005 after the ICMP used its most advanced DNA-analysis tools, which were able to make a match with Gudmundsson's DNA.

"It is the same sadness, of course, but it is easier to understand," Gudmundsson says, adding that her grieving process was helped by a lack of blame. "This was nature, it was a catastrophe; I feel no need for revenge. But if there is war, terrorism, I think it's another sorrow and another sadness. I only can say if they are waiting for their relatives to be identified, have hope. Trust the science."

But science is only part of the problem.

First, the bodies of the Mediterranean dead need to be found—and no one knows exactly where they are.

AT THE HEIGHT of the refugee crisis, it was chaos. Bodies washed up on beaches, and no one knew what to do with them. Giorgia Mirto, a field researcher on border deaths at the University of Bologna, describes haphazard record keeping in Italy and the lack of systematic procedures to take DNA samples from bodies or bury victims from the same shipwreck together. After 2013, when two high-profile shipwrecks prompted more scrutiny, a protocol for dealing with the recovered bodies was developed. But Mirto says it's not clear if every municipality is following the correct procedures.





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The view from the living-room window of Murad's house, overlooking a street in Theley

Robins, who traveled to the Greek island of Lesbos for research during the crisis, describes a similar situation there. In the summer of 2015, at least 3,000 people were arriving on Lesbos per day, and hundreds were dying each day. Bodies were stacked in freezer containers. Graveyards ran out of space. An Egyptian scholar with no experience handling the dead volunteered for the task of administering burial rites. There were plenty of well-meaning people trying to do the right thing, but because of a shortage of forensic experience, crucial

evidence that would later enable the bodies to be identified was lost.

Robins goes as far as calling the burial sites “mass graves like something out of Srebrenica—multiple bodies and human remains.”

Because of the lack of records, no one will even guess how many of the 23,000 estimated dead or missing are buried in which European countries, or how many have been identified. Even that estimate of 23,000 may not be accurate; it comes from deaths and missing persons reported by family members and shipwreck survivors, and from bodies actually retrieved and buried. People working in the field say the number is likely much higher. Mirto says previous research done from 1990 to 2013 showed that around 27% of people believed to have been killed in migration were found and identified, but she thinks that figure would be lower now.

Today, thousands of people likely remain at the bottom of the sea, trapped in the rotting wood of the vessels they thought would save them, their underwater coffins preventing them from floating to the surface. It is highly unlikely any country will cover the huge expense of trawling the seabed.

And some people may still be alive. Europol, the European Union's law-enforcement agency, estimates that around 10,000 children have gone missing during migration, some left waiting in refugee centers for parents who may never come, others trafficked and exploited.

Working out where all the records—and the bodies—are is the ICMP's first task. But that is still only half of the picture. “Before you can identify bodies, you need to identify families,” says Robins.

This is a huge challenge given the global nature of migration. Bomberger estimates that people are coming to Europe from 65 different countries. Many relatives will remain in their home countries, while others scatter across Europe. For one missing person, multiple governments must work together. In Murad's case, an ideal scenario would involve

the cooperation of Iraq so other family members could give DNA samples; Turkey, the last country where his family were seen alive; Greece, where the boat was headed; and Germany, where Murad is now living. But some governments—Syria's, for example—would simply not cooperate, while others have no technical capacity.

Then there are ethnic and political sensitivities. Murad is a member of the Yezidi community—he fled Iraq when Islamic State fighters came to his hometown, killing hundreds of men and kidnapping thousands of women and children. Among his people, there remains distrust in a government they feel did not do enough to protect them. Gathering data from families of the missing across the world would involve a huge outreach campaign, ideally accompanied by psychological support.

Bomberger is frank about the challenges ahead. She is motivated to keep going by the desperate families she meets, and because she believes the task is an important one, not just from a moral and legal perspective but also to prevent future cycles of violence and resentment. It has helped heal wounds in the former Yugoslavia, and Bomberger is confident it will do the same for Europe's refugee community.

“Twenty years ago, when we started this whole process in the former Yugoslavia, everyone said it couldn't be done,” says Bomberger. “Nothing is impossible. You have to try, because it's not going to go away, and I think we can help build the mechanisms to find people. It is not insurmountable.”

But it will take time. So Murad waits, reliving the last moments he saw his children as he buttoned up their small life jackets and promised them a new life: “We just put the vests on and then we said, ‘We put our fate in the hands of God—happiness is waiting for us at the other end.’”

A few hours later, they were swallowed by the waves, where they probably still remain, frozen in time at the bottom of the sea. □

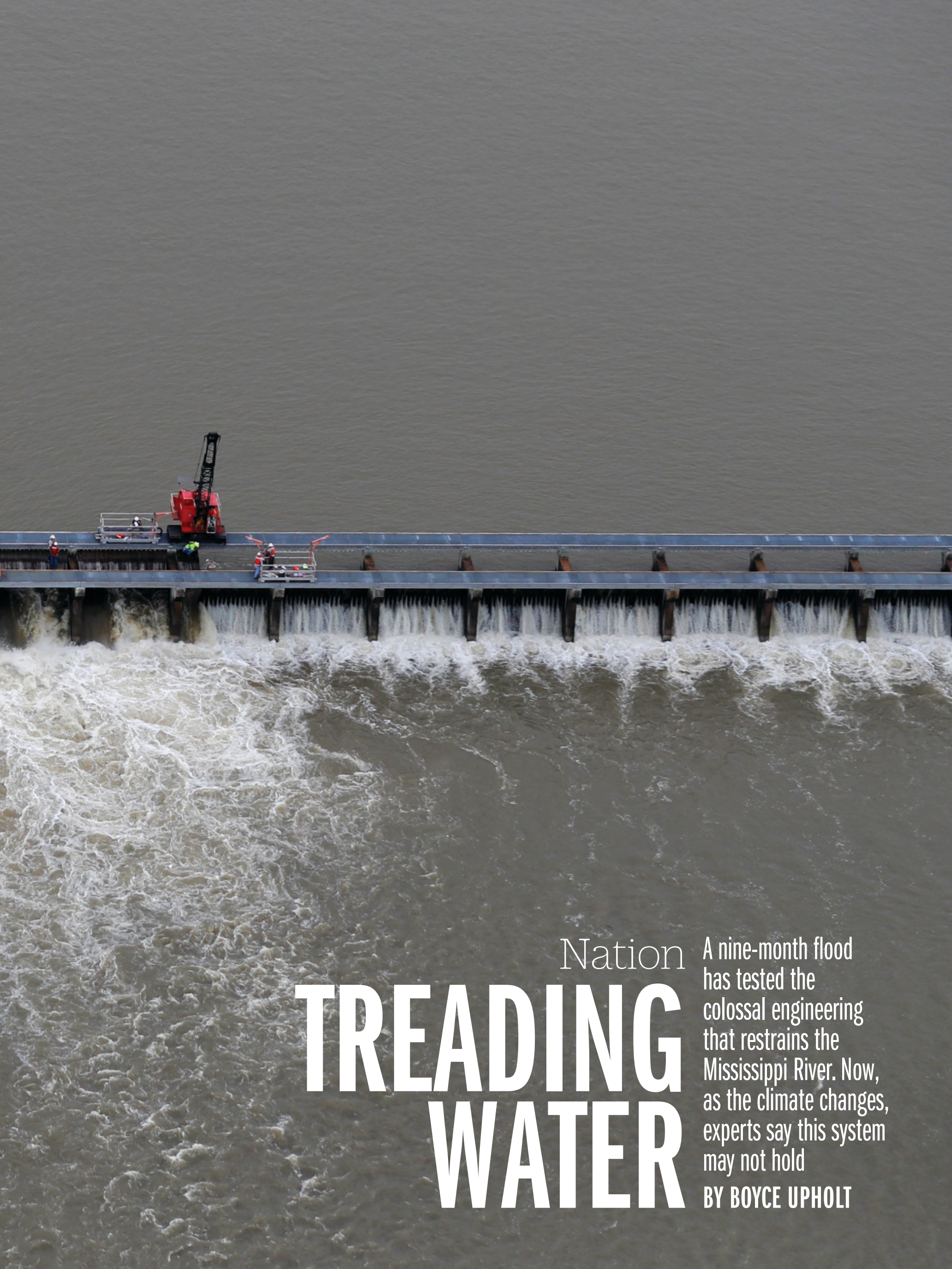
**‘AT LEAST I
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THAT THEY
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—WALID KHALIL MURAD



*The Bonnet Carré
Spillway opens on
May 10, sending
floodwater into
Lake Pontchartrain*

PHOTOGRAPH BY
GERALD HERBERT



Nation

TREADING WATER

A nine-month flood has tested the colossal engineering that restrains the Mississippi River. Now, as the climate changes, experts say this system may not hold

BY BOYCE UPHOLT

BY MAY 9, 2019, THE U.S. ARMY Corps of Engineers had been in a flood fight in Louisiana for nearly 200 days. Officials gathered every morning in a conference room in New Orleans that was—perhaps thankfully—windowless, keeping their opponent out of view: just below the office snarled the overlaid Mississippi River, more than 8 million gallons of water ripping past each second.

That morning the team discussed the latest forecasts and notes from inspectors, who were assessing every foot of every levee every day. They were dealing not with a river, really, but with the Mississippi River & Tributaries Project: the web of canals and spouts the lower Mississippi has become, with floodgates that can be opened or closed to redirect the water on command. The New Orleans team had been focused on the Bonnet Carré Spillway, which diverts water from the Mississippi into Lake Pontchartrain, connected to the Gulf of Mexico, during floods.

Whether to open a spillway can be an agonizing decision. When the Bonnet Carré is activated, the rush of fresh water can decimate the Gulf's saltwater ecosystems and seafood industry. Another spillway, the Morganza Floodway, has been used so infrequently (only twice since it was built in 1954) that many people farm within its boundaries. When the Army Corps considered opening it earlier this year, ranchers scrambled to move their cattle out of harm's way.

Over its first 80 years in operation, the Bonnet Carré Spillway was activated just 10 times. Then something changed. The river hit the trigger point in 2011, 2016, 2018 and—for the first time ever in back-to-back years—February of this year. Economists calculated that the opening in 2011 cost the Mississippi economy \$58 million over the next few years, largely because of the reduced oyster harvest. When the trigger point is hit, the Corps is legally bound to open the spillway, but recently, rising waters have forced them to do so before the law would require it.

On May 9, the leaders of the Corps' New Orleans district announced that the river was rising again and that in five days they would reopen Bonnet Carré. "It's a bit extraordinary," the Corps' emergency-operations manager told the press. For the

first time in history, the spillway would be operated twice in one year.

Then came the rain.

That night, so much poured over Louisiana that the river rose 6 in. Soon it would hit 17.5 ft., higher than the city had seen in more than 40 years. For Corps officials, that was too close to the tops of the levees, which sit around 20 ft. At the next morning's meeting, they decided to open the spillway that day, immediately. Within hours a crane began to pluck wooden pins out of the spillway's gates. The water came roaring out, the collected runoff from a flooded continent.

More trouble was on the way. Hurricane season was incipient. A storm hitting while the river was already this swollen is the stuff of nightmares; the Corps had already nearly exhausted its water-diversion options. When Hurricane Barry brushed past the city in July and delivered little damage, it was both a relief and a warning shot, a reminder of what's almost certainly to come: a flood that could sink a nation.

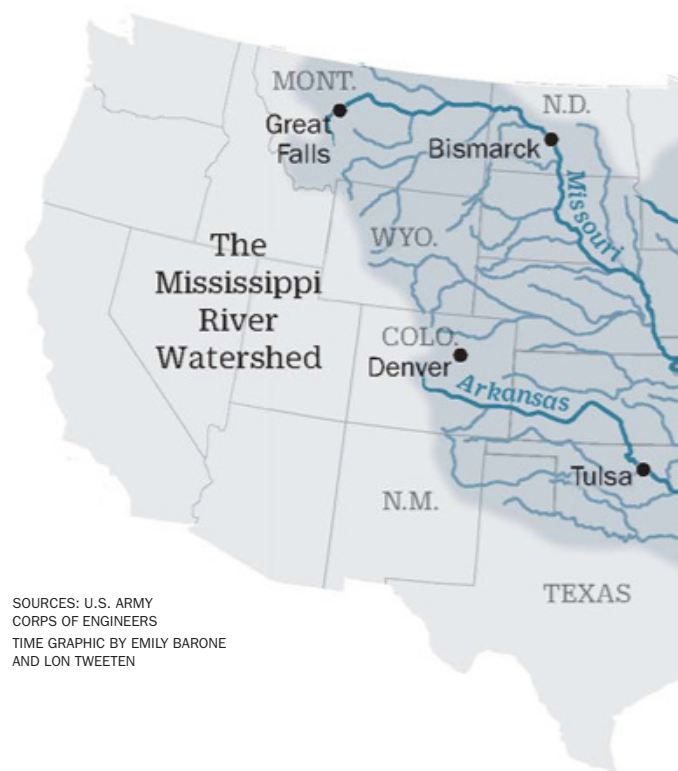
THE MISSOURI, THE OHIO; the Red, the Illinois, the Arkansas; the Pecatonica, the Poteau, the Big Sioux—across the U.S., rivers have swollen this year, swamping homes and cropland, costing farmers billions of dollars. Running through more than a million square miles of the heart of the U.S.—40% of its land area—100,000 waterways eventually drain into the Mississippi. Over 30 million people live near the Mississippi or one of its tributaries. There, on the big river, the Army Corps spent the last nine months trying to contain its longest recorded flood, the latest in an increasingly devastating series.

Scientists blame much of the epidemic of flooding on the Corps' own engineering. In order to protect farms and cities, they built humps of earth along the Mississippi's banks—levees, which narrowed the river, forcing it to rise. Meanwhile, countless acres of urban pavement have replaced absorbent soil. Pair these changes with the wettest 12 months in recorded history, and the Mississippi River becomes a menace.

On March 18, as the river hit the first of many crests this season, I launched a canoe near Baton Rouge, La., to study the flood from inside. I've spent plenty of time on the river but had rarely seen it like this. One night the only campsite avail-

REINING THE RIVER

The Mississippi River & Tributaries Project has controlled the lower Mississippi since the 1927 floods. Here's how it works:



SOURCES: U.S. ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS
TIME GRAPHIC BY EMILY BARONE AND LON TWEETEN

able was a set of flood-drowned trees, between which I strung a hammock. I slept uneasily, dangling above the rising water.

The river architecture—often all that stands between a town and tons of rushing water—is part highly engineered technology, part rickety old machine. Along almost every mile of the Mississippi River, levees both control the flooding and exacerbate it. Some levees are hundreds of years old, and most are unregulated. No one actually knows how many miles of levees are on the river; there is no complete inventory. Engineers have long considered the nation's levees to be at considerable risk, given their age and the lack of funding for repairs, and many across the Midwest either collapsed or were overtopped during this year's floods.

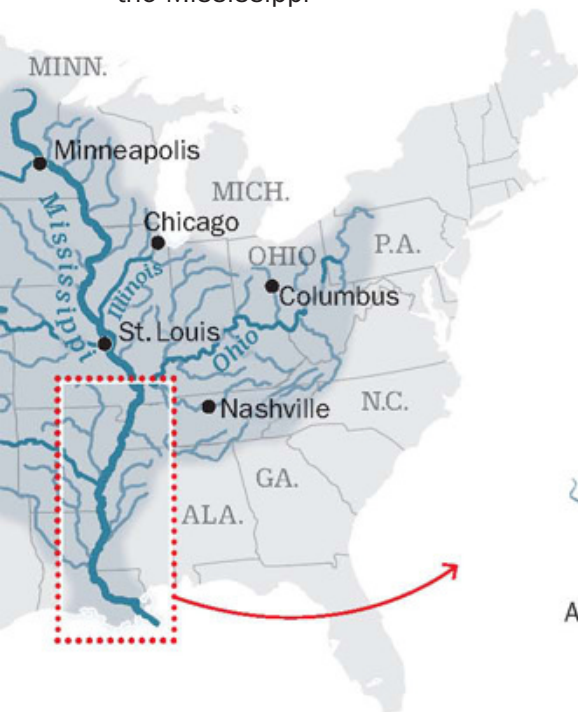
Farm Market iD, an agricultural-data firm, estimates that 16 million acres of farmland—an area larger than all of West Virginia—have been affected across the Midwest this year. That reflects a choice, not an inevitability. "It's actually national policy, if you will, to put [floodwater upriver] instead of Baton Rouge or New Orleans," says Mark Davis, director of the Tulane Institute on Water Resources Law and Policy. The devastating flooding in the Midwest protected the South from worse floods by design.

On the lower Mississippi River—

1

A national problem

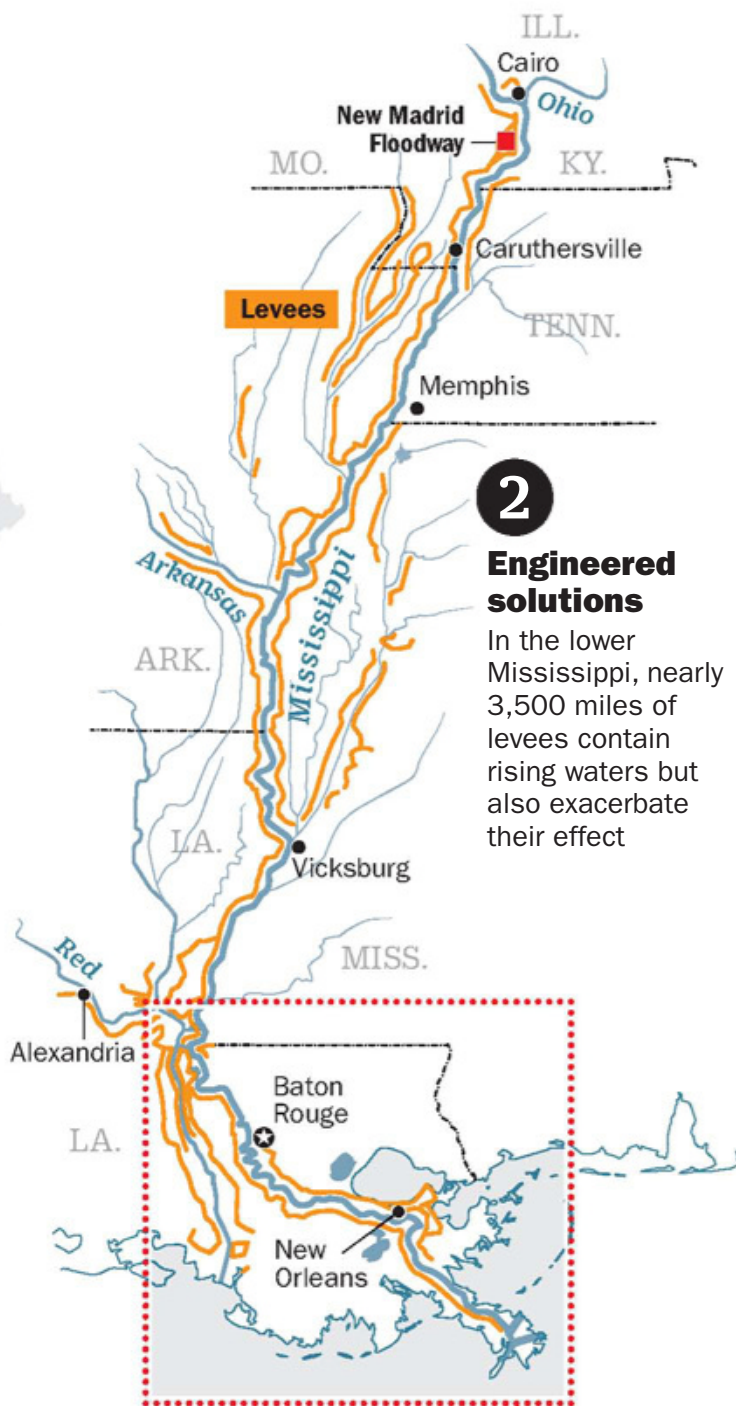
In recent months, precipitation in the lower 48 states reached all-time highs; the rains swelled the tributaries that lead to the Mississippi



2

Engineered solutions

In the lower Mississippi, nearly 3,500 miles of levees contain rising waters but also exacerbate their effect



3

Fighting Mother Nature

In Louisiana, flood-control structures and spillways divert excess water from overwhelming everything in its natural path, but the diversions cause damage too



which begins in Cairo, the southernmost city in Illinois—flood control is far more advanced than in the Midwest. In 1927, floods demolished 26,000 sq. mi. of the South, killing as many as 500 people. It was the era's Katrina, a disaster that gripped the nation. The federal government decided that the region should never be wet again, and the Army Corps was tasked with the design and construction of the Mississippi River & Tributaries Project to seize control. The MR&T Project is so vast that it can be hard to comprehend as a single object: it includes concrete floodwalls in New Orleans and Cairo and Caruthersville, Mo.; pumping stations that drain rainwater trapped behind these walls; and nearly 3,500 miles of levees along the river and its tributaries. A fleet of towboats and barges, outfitted with cranes and sleeping quarters for a crew of 200, descends the river each year, paving its bends with concrete to halt erosion. In the 1930s and '40s, dredge boats straightened the river, shortening it by 150 miles, so that floodwater would speed more quickly downstream.

Politicians initially considered a more comprehensive version of the MR&T Project that would span the whole river, but this was deemed too expensive; the project was narrowed to just the region that had been inundated in 1927, leaving the Midwest exposed. "We're still standing on decisions that were made two or three generations ago," Davis says.

Still, no other river as big as the Mississippi has been so thoroughly engineered.

Built in pieces over decades and still incomplete, the MR&T Project is designed to hold the "project design flood." This hypothetical disaster, dreamed up in 1954, represents the largest probable flood based on historical data available at the time. The levees are designed to handle only a portion of this flood; when a trigger point is met, the Corps is authorized to open one of the MR&T Project's four floodways, sending the excess water down a different route to the Gulf of Mexico. As of 2010, the Corps expected this would be necessary about once every 10 years. Bonnet Carré has been opened three times in the past 18 months.

The system is officially managed by the Mississippi River Commission, a seven-member committee appointed by the President, but is largely dominated by the

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. An elite military squadron founded by Thomas Jefferson in 1802, the Corps has grown into a massive bureaucracy, with a budget of \$7 billion in 2019 for civil works. The Corps dug a tunnel in Alaska to study the effects of excavating through permafrost; it built a city in Saudi Arabia to house the country's troops. The MR&T Project is in many ways the agency's masterwork. Paul Hudson, a hydrologist at Leiden University in the Netherlands, calls it "among the largest and most ambitious engineering feats on earth." The Corps' motto seems apt: "*Essayons*," French for "let us try."

The Mississippi can be quiet and peaceful upstream, but amid the MR&T Project below Baton Rouge, the water slapped and jostled my canoe, its surface covered in thickets of white rapids 100 acres across. Sean Duffy, executive director for the Big River Coalition, a maritime-industry lobbying group, says the Mississippi's current state is scary for freighter pilots too, who cart oil and chemicals through the heavily populated corridor. The five deep-draft river ports in Louisiana include the largest by tonnage in the western hemisphere, and more than 500 million tons of cargo pass through this stretch each year. But the flood is affecting business: when the river is high, freighters must lighten their loads, which Duffy says can mean leaving a million dollars of cargo aside on a single trip. Amid the rain and storms, it's clear to Duffy that the climate has changed. "Whether it's long-term," he says, "I can't answer that question."

TO SCIENTISTS, THE ANSWER is a resounding yes. Across the U.S., the past year has been extraordinarily rainy—nearly 8 in. wetter than usual from July 2018 to June 2019. This fits with climate-change predictions: a warm atmosphere holds more moisture in the air, which can be released suddenly, causing some regions to have more rainfall and flooding.

The Big Flood, though, will not be due to climate change alone. A paper published in *Nature* last year attributed up to three-quarters of the increase in flooding on the Mississippi to human engineering, especially the levees, which squeeze the river, raising its height.

There is, too, the unpredictability of man-made flood-control structures. Hudson, the Leiden University hydrolo-

gist, worries that any attempt to tame a river is a trial-and-error operation. Infrastructure is built on a much faster time scale than the river's sedimentary processes. Once engineering is installed, the river changes—depositing new mud here, eroding banks there—and old calculations go out the window. "You're kind of constantly keeping up with these unintended consequences," says Hudson. It doesn't help that much of the MR&T Project was designed before scientists fully understood the science of this river's flow.

Consider one stretch of southern Louisiana where three rivers—the Mississippi, the Atchafalaya and the Red—tangle together. In the 1830s, the Corps attempted to tame the mess, straightening the path of the Mississippi. By the 1950s, scientists noticed the consequences: more water was going down the Atchafalaya River, a tributary of the Mississippi. The Corps determined that within a decade, the Atchafalaya, around a tenth as powerful as the Mississippi, might become the bigger river.

That change—which remains possible today—would devastate New Orleans. Seawater would trickle up to fill the emptied riverbed, putting the city at the edge of a brackish bayou and cutting off its access to drinking water and the riverine highway that drives its economy. The effects would ripple up the Mississippi Valley, whose farms and refineries depend on Louisiana ports.

The response: build more "improvements," as the Corps once dubbed its engineering. In 1959, the Corps inaugurated a new element of the MR&T Project, the Old River Control Structure, at the intersection of the three rivers. The structure is a massive complex that includes 11 steel gates, embedded in a concrete wall, which are lifted and dropped by an overhead crane, regulating the flow of water from the Mississippi into the Atchafalaya, ensuring 70% stays in the bigger river. The thing looks straight out of the frozen

'IT'S SINKING IN ... WHAT WE'VE BEEN DOING FOR THE PAST 100 YEARS ISN'T WORKING.'

COLIN WELLENKAMP, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, MISSISSIPPI RIVER CITIES AND TOWNS INITIATIVE

rebel base in *The Empire Strikes Back*.

A massive flood in 1973 put this system to the test. A wall built to steer water toward the gates collapsed; Army Corps employees felt the structure shuddering, and scrambled to open a floodway downstream to relieve pressure. The Old River Control Structure held, but could no longer support the same capacity of water for which it was designed, so the Corps added a Band-Aid.

In May, I toured that Band-Aid: the Auxiliary Structure, just downstream. Seven concrete towers stood 40 ft. over the riverside highway. A siren wailed, a warning that one of six steel gates would soon inch upward, letting just a trickle more water through. Water slammed against the gate, coiling into a whirlpool, then dropping nearly 20 ft.—a man-made waterfall from the Mississippi into the Atchafalaya that in natural conditions would be the same height.

The Band-Aid may not hold much longer. Yi Jun Xu, a hydrologist at Louisiana State University, has found that the Mississippi's bed is rising just downstream of Old River. It's created a pinch point that could fill with mud during a flood, forcing the water into the Atchafalaya once more.

The MR&T Project engineering has not yet been pushed to its limit: one of its four floodways has never been used. Still, the hydrologists I spoke to agreed that the system is unlikely to keep up with the increasing flooding. One model suggests that under worst-case scenarios for global heating and increasing land use, the river's discharge—the volume of water it carries each second—could grow by 60% before century's end.

"That's crazy!" Xu says. "I doubt our levee system would survive."

THERE IS NO WAY to predict when the Big One will come, or what element of the system might fail. But this year's high water signals that the Corps' "project design flood" is already distressingly out of date. The engineering was designed around discharge readings in 1927, but today, perhaps because the flood-prevention structures have narrowed the river, the same discharge often leads to higher water than it did 90 years ago. In May, the Corps was forced to open Bonnet Carré before the discharge trigger was met because the water had risen so high.



The MR&T Project was also not built to contain floods, like this year's, that stretch into hurricane season. During Katrina, the Mississippi jumped 12 ft. in New Orleans, but because the river started low, no levees overtopped. This May, when I raised the possibility of a storm surge pushing the flood over the levees with the National Hurricane Center Storm Surge Unit, Jamie Rhome, the unit's team leader, said only that it was "a concern."

In July, as Louisiana prepared for Hurricane Barry, the National Weather Service predicted the storm surge would push the river to 20 ft.—the same height as some of New Orleans' levees. This was a historic warning: no completed MR&T Project levee has ever overtopped.

That remains true. The river ended up stopping short of 17 ft. But the crisis showed how few options remain if another hurricane comes, this year or during a future late-season flood. The Corps is not authorized to open the spillways for a storm surge, and besides, opening the Morganza Floodway during Barry, as one Corps official told the *Times-Picayune*/New Orleans *Advocate*, "would actually have caused worse effects." That's because Barry made landfall in the same territory where Morganza would have sent the water.

The flood officially ended in early August, but the water will rise again. Forced

Workers erect a temporary floodwall in Alton, Ill., in May, after breached levees left its downtown underwater

to revisit engineering decisions made decades ago, the Corps' New Orleans office has a study under way, examining how the river's dynamics around Old River and Morganza have changed in the past 80 years. This could lead them to issue new trigger levels. Barry also prompted discussion of how they can better understand the river's flow—perhaps by installing more gauges that measure the water's height—and how storms could impact it at different points.

Building more infrastructure now might prove unwise. "That's going to come with a cost," Davis says. "Any water you stop from coming into your home goes into somebody else's." The other choice is to find other places to put the water. A widely admired flood-control system in the Netherlands has a telling name: "Room for the River." The key strategy of the system, which was completed under budget last year, is identifying land that can be reconnected to the Rhine to absorb its floods.

To retreat rather than build seems against the American instinct. Historically, floods in the southern U.S. have led

to an increase in local populations. More river infrastructure goes up, and new people move in. So, in turn, more infrastructure is built. The cycle is endless—or it has been so far.


Colin Wellenkamp, executive director of the Mississippi River Cities and Towns Initiative, a coalition of riverside mayors, says he's noted a recent change in the political tide. His organization is pushing to reconnect the river to its natural floodplains, rather than build more levees, and the past few years of flooding have driven more mayors to support such efforts. "It's sinking in for everybody now," Wellenkamp says. "What we've been doing for the past 100 years isn't working, so maybe we ought to do something else."

On a recent tour of river infrastructure, one reporter asked Ricky Boyett, a Corps spokesman, what they might do if the Old River Control Structure fails (again) and the river reroutes itself. Would they try to re-engineer the entire Mississippi back to its current shape? Boyett's answer was glib: "You know, Army Corps—we can."

Then, laughing, he backtracked. "I always say we've picked the worst enemy in the world, and that's Mother Nature," he said. "Because at the end of the day, we know that Mother Nature can do what Mother Nature wants, and we're just trying to hold it on pause." □

Science





*Octopuses raised in
captivity, like this one,
could save their wild
relatives from overfishing*

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAKE
NAUGHTON FOR TIME

Octopus' Garden

The race
to build the
world's first
commercial
octopus farm

By Tik Root

I first laid eyes on an octopus when I was 8.

My father, who taught biology at Middlebury College in Vermont, sporadically hosted a lunch for his class, to which he would bring an assortment of invertebrates. Students would discuss each specimen, identify its various parts and then eat it. That year, my dad brought home leftovers for dinner. He reached into a plastic bag, pulled out a grayish-pink gelatinous blob, put it on our kitchen table, and cut the eight-tentacled, poorly cooked creature into portions. It tasted like salty bubble gum, and my sister and I spat it out.

Twenty years later, I went to Mexico's Yucatán Peninsula to meet Carlos Rosas, a biologist who aims to revolutionize how those gelatinous blobs wind up on dinner tables.

People are now eating more octopus than ever: annual global production has more than doubled since 1980, from roughly 180,000 tons to about 370,000 tons. But overfishing has already caused the collapse of multiple wild-octopus fisheries around the world, and current populations likely face similar threats. Rosas believes inland aquaculture—raising the animals from birth to adulthood in captivity—could be one way to meet increased demand without devastating the wild population. The approach has been tried with a variety of other marine animals, such as shrimp, salmon and tilapia, but octopuses have remained a stubbornly vexing puzzle. However, as the stability of wild populations has become more uncertain and the economic stakes have risen, teams in Spain, Japan and elsewhere around the world have also made significant progress on the surprisingly complex science behind octopus rearing.

Critics find the prospect of cultivating such sentient animals for food barbaric. They point out that research shows the animals are highly intelligent, exhibiting complex behaviors incompatible with the enclosed environments of aquaculture. Rosas argues that it may actually be the best way to protect the species over the long term. And, hovering between a prototype and commercial scale, he's at the forefront of the increasingly intense quest to build the world's first octopus farm.

The egg-incubation room of Rosas' lab, perched at the edge of the Gulf of Mexico, on the National Autonomous University of Mexico campus in the Yucatán town of Sisal, is dark and cool, lit with a dim red light. "We maintain more or less the temperature and the light that the animals experience in the ocean," said Rosas, illuminating the space with a headlamp.

On a rack inside was the product of nearly 20 years' work of scientific research: 24 plastic containers filled with seawater and hundreds of octopus eggs. The eggs resemble tiny bunches of white grapes on the vine. In the wild, spawning females attach these egg strings to the roofs of their dens, where they dangle like fragile stalactites.

"They're hatching," said Rosas, who, despite having seen this hundreds, if not thousands, of times, still sounded giddy. "You're a lucky man." The *Octopus maya* babies were about the size of a fingernail and translucent. Little tentacles wisped out behind them as they squirted around the enclosure. A few were even taking their cautious first steps up the plastic sides.

THE YUCATÁN'S TRADITIONAL octopus-fishing season runs from August to December. When the weather is calm, thousands of fishermen leave their homes before dawn and head for the water. To reduce costs, the men form groups, lashing together their small individual boats, called *alijos*, into pontoons and sharing one motor per team.

When they arrive at the day's fishing spot, the fishermen disperse. Each *alijo* is equipped with long wooden sticks called *jimbas*, to which the fisherman attaches his lines, baited with a soft-shell crab. The *alijo* drifts with the current, dragging the bait along the ocean floor. When a hungry octopus catches sight of the passing crab, it attacks, wrapping its arms tightly around its prize, hanging on as the fisherman reels in the string. If the fisherman can't immediately wrest the octopus off the line, he pokes it in the eye with his finger.

Whether by accident or design, the chief merit of the *jimba* technique is its built-in ecological safeguard. When a female octopus is ready to lay her eggs, she first finds a place to hide—caves, coral or some other ocean cavity. Sometimes she decorates her lair with stones and shells. Here she deposits her eggs for the only time in her one-to-two-year life, and protects them fiercely. She doesn't come out and doesn't eat. A passing *jimba*-drawn crab, then, is of no interest. Neither mother nor babies are at risk.

Fishing with *jimba* is the only legal way to catch octopuses in the Yucatán, but the industry is unevenly regulated. While the government prescribes a quota, understaffed authorities can't keep accurate count or adequately prevent illegal fishing. That means the sector has been left more or less in the hands of the fishermen themselves. Given the immediate financial pressures, many locals fear Mexico's octopus fisheries could follow the example of most others in the world, where massive trawling nets sweep through the ocean, indiscriminately hauling up octopuses of all genders and ages without regard for the ecological fallout.



Morocco, for example, was once the largest octopus supplier in the world. In 2000, the country caught a staggering 99,400 tons. But, by 2004, overfishing had caused that to plummet to 19,200 tons. Other countries have since taken up the octopus-production mantle. According to the latest reliable data, from 2014, China had far and away the largest octopus catch—120,000 tons (as recently as 2000, the country produced a mere 4.6 tons). Japan and Mexico, 2014's second and third largest producers, hauled in 35,000 tons and 34,000 tons, respectively.

WHEN ROSAS WAS A TEENAGER in the early 1970s, he built his first aquarium in his parents' garage. He and a friend from down the block sold guppies to other children in their Mexico City neighborhood.

Rosas' love of sea creatures lured him into a biology program at the national university, which in turn led to a doctorate, and a dissertation on rearing crabs—a practice in its nascent stages at the time. Before he could make much headway, though, the country shifted its resources to shrimp, which the government saw as the next frontier of Mexican aquaculture. On a shoestring budget, Rosas and his

^
Rosas by one of
the 24 octopus
containers at his
lab in Mexico's
Yucatán Peninsula

colleagues created what he calls a “very primitive laboratory” with secondhand equipment in a dirt-floor building. They gathered water for the lab by paddling a rickety boat out into the ocean, allowing it to sink slightly, and hauling back whatever the vessel could carry. The makeshift operation, he says, produced some of Mexico's first captive-raised shrimp. But the triumph was short-lived, as bigger and better-funded operations quickly blew past their limited production capabilities. Bored and in search of a new project, Rosas learned that the local government on the Yucatán Peninsula was looking for someone to explore octopus aquaculture.

In 2003, Rosas moved his operations to the lab at Sisal and began reading everything he could about the subject. Progress was slow, but he was captivated. “For me, it was a new girlfriend,” Rosas says. José Iglesias, a Spanish octopus expert, remembers an early visit to the lab with a laugh: “He didn't know anything.”

In all fairness, scientists have long struggled with octopus farming. Many species, including *Octopus vulgaris*, the common octopus, hatch into a paralarval stage, in which they have stubby, almost non-existent arms and float around like plankton. They drift through the water column and suck up whatever microscopic food they can as they grow toward adulthood, when they will eventually settle on the bottom of the sea. For years, replicating these early phases of life in a laboratory proved impossible.

The first major breakthrough came in 1962, when Japanese scientist Kouzo Itami and his team raised *vulgaris* hatchlings until the larvae grew old enough to settle on the tank floor. While the abysmal 9% survival rate was far from commercially viable, this is widely considered the first successful attempt to raise octopuses from birth.

It took until 2004 for the next major advancement in the field, when Iglesias' lab in Spain announced it had raised *vulgaris* through their full life cycle, this time with a survival rate of 31.5%. Although more than triple Itami's rate, it was still far from marketable. The animals were just too finicky. Small fluctuations in temperature, dissolved oxygen levels or salinity—among a multitude of other factors—can be deadly (not to mention the cannibalism). But Rosas says that given enough resources, the challenges are surmountable. “With money,” he says, “in one year it could be solved.”

One of Rosas' crucial advantages is that he works with *Octopus maya*, not *vulgaris*. The *maya* species skips the paralarval stage and is born as essentially a miniature adult, making it significantly hardier. But feeding the babies is still the largest remaining hurdle in octopus aquaculture.

Back in Sisal, Rosas took me to a room adjacent to the incubator and lifted the top of a cooler. Inside was his latest solution to this challenge: rows

Science

of white half shells, each about the size of a quarter, and each filled with a dollop of pink paste—a mix of squid and crab. Workers assemble these shell-paste combinations by hand and put them into the octopus tanks: three shells in the morning, three in the afternoon and a few more in between for each young octopus. The lab can go through thousands of shells a day. The babies, as Rosas put it, are “voracious.”

The shells are labor-intensive and expensive, but highly nutritious. Once on the diet, the octopuses grow exponentially. Born weighing only 100 mg, after a month *Octopus maya* are already 10 times that size. Rosas stops growing them after a few months, when they weigh 1 to 2 kg; or 10,000 to 20,000 times their birth weight.

Rosas says his survival rate hovers around 60% to 70%; double Iglesias’ from the early 2000s. As his octopuses mature, he moves them to larger tanks elsewhere in the lab. Peering down into one of these tanks, I saw an octopus no bigger than my palm poking out of the shell it had chosen to occupy. In its clutches was another, smaller, octopus. “If you don’t feed them well,” Rosas said, “they will prefer their half brother.” Rosas tries to combat cannibalism with ample food and space. But his facility is at capacity, and funding is hard to come by. Rosas has long toiled on the low-cost road. In the late 2000s, he approached a local women’s cooperative and offered a trade: if they helped raise his octopus babies to adolescence, they could sell them and keep the proceeds. Four women agreed. One, Silvia Canul, says her husband Antonio Cobb, a local fisherman, was against the idea at first. “He thought I was wasting my time,” she says.

The co-op cropped its first batch of octopuses in 2012. Chefs quickly scooped up the 200-g juveniles—whose tenderness is coveted—for 80 pesos apiece, four times market price for wild-caught adults. With the proceeds, Canul bought a pedal-powered cargo tricycle. When Cobb saw the new bike, he developed a sudden interest in the cooperative. He now works at Rosas’ lab too. The learning curve was steep: the simplest-sounding tasks, like figuring out the sex of an octopus, require inordinate patience. Handling the octopuses is difficult too, since they like to latch on to human arms and hands with their suckers. Initially Canul had to soak the octopuses in a rubbing alcohol solution to make them “drunk” and more controllable. Now she’s getting better. The trick, she says, is to keep them submerged in the water. But neither Canul nor Cobb has a solution for inking. “Straight to the face,” he grumbles. “You look at them and they ink.”

HUMANS HAVE LONG been captivated by the octopus. The Minoans, a seafaring Mediterranean civilization, celebrated the creatures on vases and frescos. Roman naturalist Pliny the Elder gushed about their



clever method of wedging open mussel shells with pebbles in order to get to the food inside. In recent years, some octopuses have become Internet celebrities, like Paul, an ostensibly clairvoyant *vulgaris*, who accurately “predicted” the results of all of Germany’s soccer games during the 2010 World Cup.

We know octopuses display behaviors that suggest high levels of intelligence. Studies have shown that octopuses seem capable of recognizing other members of their species as individuals. They are also known to be associative learners, meaning they can link new behaviors or responses to certain stimuli. “If an animal is shown a lever that results in a food reward, the animal will learn to press the lever and will do so progressively more rapidly and efficiently,” writes neuroscientist Eric Kandel in his 2016 book *Reductionism in Art and Brain Science*. In the lab, some octopuses have even been able to learn these kinds of responses after just one try.

Peter Tse, a neuroscientist at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, has been experimenting with mirrors to explore the octopus brain. When he first puts an octopus in front of one, they either run away or try to attack it, he says. Pretty quickly, though, they realize it isn’t another octopus. “Some will sit in front of the mirror and groom,” says Tse. They also seem to be able to use the mirror as a tool. Tse found that, with practice, the octopuses can recognize that a reflection of a crab in the mirror is just a reflection—and can use the mirror to find the crab elsewhere in the tank. That, he says, implies that they have “pretty complicated three-dimensional representation of their tank.”

^
A lab-grown baby
Octopus maya
takes shelter under
a shell in its tank



In recent years, my father has been studying octopus behavior, and not long ago, he took me to meet his then current cohort of research animals. Each tank was labeled with an ID number, date of birth and name: CHARLIE, PIPER, GEORGE, MIGHTY JOE YOUNG, FRANKLIN, MUH-SHELL, VADER, BOO and SWIMMY. It wasn't feeding time, so most of the octopuses were tucked away in shells or flowerpots. But Mighty Joe Young, a 10-month-old female, was bouncing around her tank. We gave her an orange ping-pong ball to play with, and watched as she stretched out one of her eight arms and touched the intruding object, cautiously exploring its surface with her suckers, then backed away for a moment before coming at the ball again from another angle. Then again. My dad grabbed a fiddler crab from the counter behind him, and dropped it into the tank. Mighty Joe sprung into action, and the crab was gone in seconds.

My dad has always been a bit wary of anthropomorphizing animals. "We infer all these things in the animal," he says, "and that's a dangerous thing to do in animal behavior research." But, watching Mighty Joe Young, even he slipped up, wondering aloud, "What are you thinking, huh?"

THE QUESTION OF OCTOPUS INTELLIGENCE is central to debates surrounding aquaculture. A January paper by New York University professor Jennifer Jacquet argued that their smarts render farming an ethical cul-de-sac. One issue, she says, is that octopuses are carnivorous—meaning that farming would likely require "exploit[ing] wild animals to feed the farmed animals." The other problem, she argues, is

that they are sentient beings. "Even the best intentioned octopus farming would not satisfy the necessary conditions to make an octopus' life meaningful," says Jacquet. Unfortunately, she adds, "I think [this] will be a case where economic interest will win over moral imperative." In a recent open letter Jacquet co-authored, more than 100 academics signed on to the notion that octopus farming is unethical. "A life in solitary confinement for a curious mind is ethically wrong," says Jacquet.

My dad, for one, gave up eating octopuses shortly after he began studying them—they're too smart, he says. Rosas is less conflicted. He's always loved to eat *pulpo*, and remembers his mom cooking it for him as a kid. Even after almost two decades of work with the animals, he's never really found himself emotionally attached. The octopuses in his lab have numbers, not names. It's not that Rosas denies their intelligence, but rather questions whether they are really that much smarter than the multitude of other animals we already eat for food. Our answer will shape the future of Rosas's farming gamble: Will octopuses remain acceptable as food, like other intelligent creatures such as pigs? Or will they be considered off-limits, like primates?

Rosas believes global demand for octopus will only continue to soar, and that it's just a matter of years before a farm for the animals will be ready to help meet that growth—hopefully in Mexico. But he's faced delays, primarily because of an inability to secure additional real estate for his venture. At one point, a former graduate student of Rosas' approached him about building a farm in Hunucmá, about 15 miles inland. They initially made progress—finding land, clearing it, and buying six of the 12 tanks they would need. Then one investor lost his job, and the others grew weary. This year they installed a few tanks to raise tilapia; the octopus ambitions are still on hold.

Meanwhile, teams elsewhere in the world are challenging Rosas to be the first to market. Groups in Spain and Japan say they've developed new tank setups and rearing techniques that have boosted survival rates to around 50%—and that's with the trickier paralarval octopuses. These developments don't worry Rosas, who sees collaboration rather than competition as the path forward. Last November, he invited scientists from around the globe to Sisal to discuss octopus aquaculture. He's also working with colleagues in Europe and South America to develop a more cost-effective way to feed the octopuses than his squid-paste-filled shells.

Given his past experiences, Rosas tempers his expectations. But he's still eager to find funders. He rarely says no to a tour: this year he says he's hosted groups from Spain and Italy, and the United Nations Development Programme. Guests are often treated an octopus meal prepared by the cooperative. "We eat them," Rosas says. "We make a feast." □

**Will
octopuses
remain
acceptable
as food, like
other
intelligent
creatures
such as pigs?**

Sports

CLEVELAND ROCKS

NO, REALLY

Less than two years after failing to win a single game, the Browns and their city are riding high

BY SEAN GREGORY/CLEVELAND

TO BE A CLEVELANDER IS TO SPEAK TWO LANGUAGES. There is the tongue of the country, and then a distinctive local idiom known to linguists as Browns bemoaning. A fine example of this was on display recently at the Flat Iron bar, in the shadow of the rusted rail bridges that cross the Cuyahoga River, as barber Nick Hilf rattled off the litany of heartbreak that has befallen the city's beloved NFL team. The Drive: when Denver's John Elway marched downfield to tie the 1986 AFC championship game, which the Broncos won in overtime. The Fumble: when Cleveland's Earnest Byner coughed it up in the AFC title game the very next year, again against the Broncos, again costing the Browns a shot at the Super Bowl. And, of course, the Move: when team owner Art Modell relocated the Browns to Baltimore for a sweetheart stadium deal. Thus, the team that for 50 years had been the Cleveland Browns became the Baltimore Ravens. The current Browns began play in 1999 using the same name and logo of the once proud original franchise. And the two decades since have not been pretty. "I cried when they left," says Hilf over a pour of bourbon. "And it's been freaking miserable for the last 20 years."

Since the Browns came back to football-mad northeast Ohio, the team has had just two winning seasons and one playoff appearance (which it lost in the wild-card round, to hated rival Pittsburgh). No NFL team has a longer active playoff drought. In 2017, the Browns didn't win a single game, becoming just the second team in league history to finish 0-16. And Cleveland finished 1-15 the season before. This is a run of dubious achievement without peer in professional football.





Fans clamor for Baker Mayfield, who set the NFL rookie record for TD passes in 2018, at a Browns scrimmage in August

Yet as the Browns opened training camp this summer, a surprising quality could be detected across the city: optimism. The Browns are actually expected to win more games than they'll lose. *Sports Illustrated* and ESPN's Football Power Index predict that the Browns will win their first division title in 30 years.

Thanks to an infusion of young talent led by brash second-year quarterback Baker Mayfield, the Browns, who finished 7-8-1 a season ago, have a swagger usually reserved for teams from bigger markets and with better pedigrees. Indeed, their prized off-season addition was the former New York Giants star Odell Beckham Jr., who traded the bright lights of Broadway for the lower-key charms of Playhouse Square. Amazingly, it is not hyperbole to say that the Cleveland Browns, whose logo-less burnt-orange helmets, icy home on Lake Erie and hard-luck history embody gritty, lunch-bucket football, have become the NFL's sexiest team.

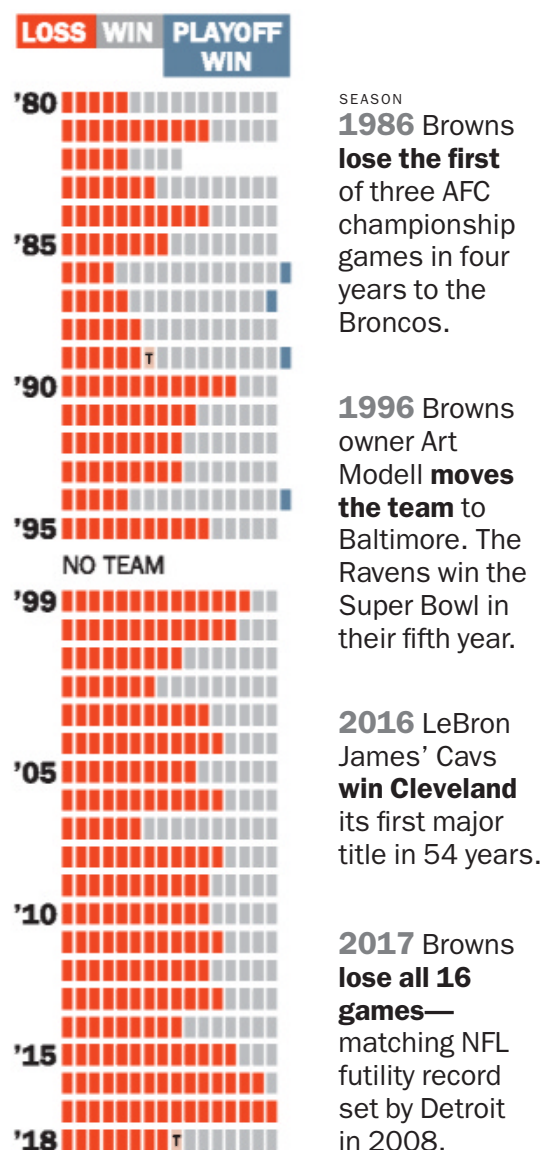
"We're like the guy in high school who everyone made fun of, and never got the girl, showing up to the 10-year reunion in a Ferrari, sticking his chest out and dancing around," says Chris McNeil, a purchasing manager for a steel fabrication company who organized a parade to mock the 0-16 season. "If any fan base deserves to be that guy for once, it's us."

The Browns' resurgence mirrors the shifting outlook of their home city. Once derided as "the Mistake by the Lake," Cleveland rebounded following a post-industrial exodus of jobs and people that accelerated in the 1970s. In the past year alone, home prices and many employment metrics have trended up. Largely because of the vaunted Cleveland Clinic, the metro area is the densest health-science labor market in the country. According to one analysis, the region's year-over-year per capita income-growth rate was the fifth highest of the nation's 40 largest metro areas, behind only New York City; San Jose, Calif.; San Francisco; and Denver. The downtown population has risen 77% since 2010, and construction cranes dot Euclid Avenue, a major thoroughfare. Cleveland has taken a star turn as host of the 2016 Republican National Convention and this year's baseball All-Star Game. The NFL draft is coming to town in 2021.

To many close observers, no small measure of credit for this revival rests

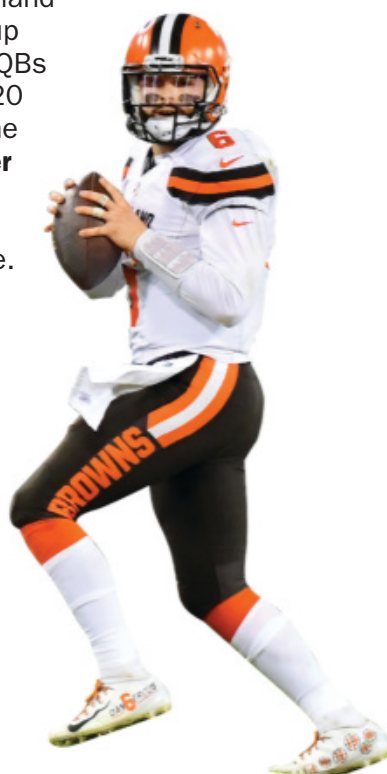
DAWG DAYS

Since the Cleveland Browns returned to the NFL in 1999, the team has turned in just two winning seasons and made a single playoff appearance.



2019 Cleveland has suited up 30 starting QBs in the past 20 seasons. The latest, **Baker Mayfield**, offers hard-earned hope.

SOURCE: NFL.COM



with LeBron James, the Akron native who led the Cavaliers to the NBA championship in 2016—Cleveland's first title in any major sport in more than 50 years. (Baseball's Indians have now gone 70 seasons without a World Series win—the longest streak in the game.) But James has since decamped for Los Angeles, and for all the excitement over finally winning something, it's football that really speaks to many Clevelanders' souls. Pro football began in Ohio, with some teams sponsored by the mills and plants that gave the Rust Belt its name, and is still followed with a devotion just shy of religion. "The drought is over," says Richey Piiparinen, an urban theorist and researcher from Cleveland who specializes in the relationship between where we live and how we think. "But have we really had a full glass of water? No."

PAUL DEPODESTA KNOWS all about the expectations. The Browns hired DePodesta as chief strategy officer in 2016 with the mandate to build a turnaround plan that would finally end the losing. He was an unconventional choice: DePodesta spent his career in baseball operations, including a stint with the Oakland A's that led to his being portrayed by Jonah Hill in the Oscar-nominated film *Moneyball*. He worked for the Indians earlier in his career and recalls telling a life-long Clevelander after the team clinched the 1997 pennant that the city seemed electric. He says the man told him that it would pale compared with what it would be like if the Browns ever won. Mind you, the Browns had just left for Baltimore. The team didn't even exist.

To shape his restoration plan, DePodesta picked the brains of experts inside and outside the game, including Richard Thaler, a Nobel Prize-winning behavioral economist who in 2013 co-wrote a paper finding that impatient NFL teams overvalued early picks in the annual college draft. That influenced the Browns' eventual strategy of acquiring future draft picks and clearing salary-cap space.

Analytically minded teams in other sports have successfully gutted the present to build for the future, a practice often derided as "tanking." But in the NFL, Cleveland's plan to do the same was fairly novel. In theory, the league's hard salary cap creates parity by putting teams on

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5-11, 215
8-year, SEA

LOCKETT

#16, WR
5-10, 182
4-year, SEA

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The pain, however, was harsher than expected; the 1-31 stretch cost general manager Sashi Brown his job. He was replaced in late 2017 by John Dorsey, a former pro linebacker who spent 26 years working in NFL front offices. “We felt like we wanted to have more of that traditional football presence,” says Browns executive vice president JW Johnson, the son-in-law of Browns owners Jimmy and Dee Haslam.

In one of the first signals that Cleveland was ready to start at least trying to win, Dorsey traded draft picks for three established talents, including wide receiver Jarvis Landry and safety Damarious Randall, on the same day. “You do that and it begins to send a message to players across the NFL and the agent community,” Dorsey says from his golf cart at the Browns’ practice facility during training camp. “You know what? Cleveland is slowly going to get this thing turned around.”

Thanks to moves made by the previous front office, the Browns had four of the first 35 picks in the 2018 draft, including the first selection. Not every fan wanted Mayfield, who reminded them of another former Heisman Trophy winner, Johnny Manziel, who flamed out with the Browns. Like Manziel, Mayfield was cocky and undersized, and had been arrested for disorderly conduct while in college. “My worry,” says Eddie Miller, a brewery manager in Granville, Ohio, “was that Baker Mayfield had an a--hole problem.”

If Dorsey had similar concerns, Mayfield assuaged them during their first meeting. The general manager’s first question for Mayfield was “So, you like food trucks?” Mayfield, who had been taken into custody near a food truck, laughed. “He’s a weirdo, so his tests are a little bit different,” says Mayfield of Dorsey’s evaluation process. “If I got frazzled, wasn’t able to handle myself and let it affect me later on, I don’t think they would have drafted me. A short-term memory for a quarterback is pretty important.”

Mayfield showed there was substance behind the strut. In his first game as a rookie, he came off the bench to rally the Browns to a home win over the New York Jets—Cleveland’s first victory in 21 months. “The energy of the stadium,

the whole energy of Cleveland, just changed,” says Landry. “Everybody had that ‘Here we go’ type feeling.” After Mayfield threw for three touchdowns in a win over the Atlanta Falcons in November—one of an NFL-rookie-record 27 he threw over the season—he informed reporters that he woke up “feeling pretty dangerous.” That quote now adorns a mural in downtown Cleveland.

In Beckham, Mayfield has a weapon as electric on the field as he is off of it. Beckham was a three-time Pro Bowler for the Giants, but he also provided endless fodder for the Big Apple tabloids. He partied before a playoff game, got suspended for scuffling on the field, criticized his teammates and coaches. Beckham tells TIME



Odell Beckham Jr. has given Cleveland another marquee star

that his reputation as a troublemaker is “created by a lot of bullsh-t,” and he sees the upside of leaving New York for Cleveland. “The only way I would be able to start over is to be traded somewhere else,” he says. “You’re always going to be reminded of your past. It’s always going to be a reliving, recurring thing. So I’ve reset myself. I’ve forgiven myself for the things that I’ve done, regardless if anybody else does.”

Cleveland also offered a do-over to running back Kareem Hunt, who led the NFL in rushing yards as a rookie in 2017 but was released by the Kansas City Chiefs last season after video emerged of him getting into a physical altercation with a woman in the hallway of a hotel and apartment building. On the tape, Hunt can be seen shoving and kicking the woman. No criminal charges were filed, but the NFL suspended Hunt for the first eight games of this season. “When you spend time with Kareem, you see that he has the ability to be the kind of man he

needs to be,” says Browns co-owner Dee Haslam. “He has a lot of work to do.”

The heightened expectations have brought heightened attention. The Browns have added some 12,000 season-ticket holders since the start of last year, and the average age of the new fans is 36, according to the team, compared with 54 for the prior fan base. There are now 390 “Browns Backers” fan clubs, with almost 62,000 members in 48 states and 13 foreign countries. Membership has jumped 31% since before Mayfield was drafted. CBS has assigned its top broadcasting team to the team’s season opener, on Sept. 8, and three of the Browns’ first five games will air in prime time, on national TV. “Hell, they were probably banned from being on TV in the past,” jokes Cleveland’s four-term mayor, Frank Jackson. “Waste of valuable airtime.”

THIS IS THE POINT at which a reality check is in order. “You’re not a Cleveland fan,” says McNeil, organizer of the O-16 parade, “unless you’re thinking in the back of your head, How are we going to screw this up?”

Cleveland’s rookie head coach, Freddie Kitchens, is quick to remind his players—and anyone else within earshot, including visiting reporters—that the Browns finished last season under .500. Only the team’s punter, Britton Colquitt, has played in the Super Bowl, which he won with Denver. “We’ve got a bunch of good players,” Kitchens tells TIME. “But collectively, individually, they’ve never won anything.”

Mayfield echoes his coach. “It’s a process,” he says. But his receiver, Landry, takes a different tack. “I’m not going to say, ‘Be patient,’” says Landry, who made his fourth Pro Bowl last season. “They’ve been patient long enough, you know what I mean? I say it with complete confidence. It’s time.”

Landry’s message may be the one more in tune with a city that still struggles with high poverty and crime rates but is rewriting its story. “We’ve been through that cycle of bemoaning,” says Mayor Jackson, from his large office on the second floor of city hall. “We ain’t got time for that. They win, they win. They lose, they lose. But the expectation is that they will do well. And people are going to hold them to that.” □



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Cut (58 facets)	Brilliant	Brilliant
Color	"D" Colorless	"D" Colorless
Clarity	"IF"	Clear
Dispersion/Fire	0.044	0.066
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scientific process, but will only say that it involves the use of rare minerals heated to an incredibly high temperature of nearly 5000°F. This can only be accomplished inside some very modern and expensive laboratory equipment. After several additional steps, scientists finally created a clear marvel that looks even better than the vast majority of mined diamonds. According to the book *Jewelry and Gems—the Buying Guide*, the technique used in our diamond alternative DiamondAura® offers, "The best diamond simulation to date, and even some jewelers have mistaken these stones for mined diamonds."

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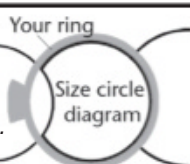
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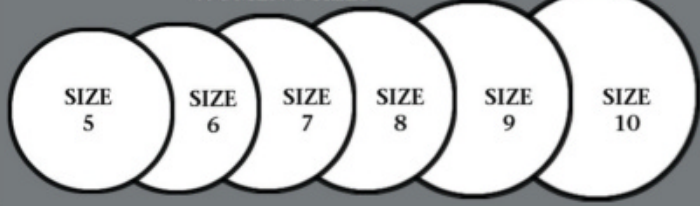
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WOMEN'S SIZES



Culture

A BRAND IS BORN

You can buy JoJo Siwa's face at any store,
but the pop star's persona is not for sale

✿ **BY JAMIE LAUREN KEILES**

UPSTAIRS AT THE BEACON THEATRE IN New York City, little girls were bouncing in like grounders, but JoJo Siwa knew how to field them. She caught their smart-phone cameras in her right hand, scooped in their tiny shoulders with her left. The girls cracked smiles. They squinted. They screamed. Siwa bared her own teeth, looked into the front-facing lens and took a photo. "Awesome!" she said, and moved on to the next. At this particular meet and greet, arranged for the children of Viacom executives, she'd average about eight selfies per minute.

Siwa, 16, has spaghetti blond hair and a voice like a wooden roller-coaster track—fun but rough, with unexpected undulations. She began her rise to fame around 2015 as a hammy preteen with a machinating mom on the Lifetime reality-TV series *Dance Moms*. Since then, a tal-

ent deal with Nickelodeon has crowned her America's most famous children's entertainer—a singular star with more spunk than Shirley Temple and the merchandizing power of both Olsen twins. Arguably, Siwa's main career is as a singer, though what sets her apart from the earlier child stars is the relative equanimity of her pursuits and the way they've been stitched together to perpetuate one another, using her online presence as a thread. On YouTube, Siwa has 10 million subscribers, mostly grade-school kids and preteen girls who listen to her music, consume her lifestyle content and beg for the hundreds—thousands?—of products featured throughout both. When JoJo Siwa passes through your town—and she might on her JoJo Siwa D.R.E.A.M. the Tour—sales of her signature hair-bow line at Claire's could spike up to 60%. In

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLOTTE RUTHERFORD FOR TIME



JOJO INC.

Siwa's products have netted more than \$1 billion in global retail sales since they launched in 2017.



an age when more than one-third of kids rank social-media stars as role models, according to market-research firm Mintel, she's managed to be herself in a way that's both earnest and lucrative.

The line at that day's meet and greet showed JoJo Siwa T-shirts in endless permutations: a purple JoJo shirt with a large JoJo head, a gray JoJo shirt with a small JoJo head, a black JoJo shirt with four JoJos in a row.

"I like your dress," Siwa said, posing with a girl in a rainbow JoJo outfit. That girl was replaced by one more, wearing yet another printed likeness of the star.

Siwa stooped to meet the smaller image of her face. "Awesome!" she said, and snapped a photo. Nearly every picture of Siwa with a fan was also a picture of Siwa with herself. While other child stars were not girl, not yet woman, Siwa made it clear: She was both girl and brand.

JOELLE JOANIE SIWA was born in Omaha in 2003, the year Mister Rogers died. Her father Tom was a chiropractor. Her mother Jessalynn, the granddaughter of ballroom owners, operated her own dance school. (Both have since retired and now work for JoJo in different capacities.) Practically speaking, JoJo danced out of the womb. "I just knew from about the time she was like 1½ that she was really special because I'd seen a lot of kids," Jessalynn says. "She just liked being onstage, and everyone liked to watch her. I just took it and ran."

Home videos online show JoJo onstage beginning at age 2: pirouetting in a sequined flapper dress, modeling a swimsuit in a pageant, performing a cheese-cake routine to Nat King Cole. Her grace is occluded by her preschool motor skills, but the talent for winning a crowd is evident. Jessalynn choreographed JoJo's solo routines for local dance recitals. She

took her to community theater auditions, believing in JoJo's intrinsic specialness, even throughout a long string of rejections. Looking back, it's hard to discern what might have underscored such blind faith in her daughter. A stage mom with a dream denied seems too easy. "I mean, everybody thinks their kid is going to be famous," Jessalynn says. In this case, it just happened to work out.

In 2012, when JoJo was 9, Jessalynn submitted JoJo's solo dance routine to Abby's *Ultimate Dance Competition*, a short-lived Lifetime reality show in which children competed for \$100,000 and a scholarship to the Joffrey Ballet. "I was like, 'O.K., I'll just send a tape in,'" Jessalynn says. Producers got in touch the same day, and JoJo joined the cast for Season 2, making a splash as a mouthy microdiva enlivened by the series' manufactured showbiz drama. "There were ups and downs with doing that show," Jessalynn says now. "When we were having hard times, I was like, 'God, I didn't even ask her really if she wanted to do this show.' But she loved it so much."

The show was not renewed for Season 3, but soon both mother and daughter were recruited for roles on the network's flagship franchise, *Dance Moms*. A minor Siwa diaspora ensued: Tom stayed in Omaha with JoJo's brother Jayden, while Jessalynn and JoJo transplanted to L.A. In Jessalynn's eyes, this was the first big "level up." They took the chance without hesitation. "I think we kind of made a conscious decision when we were doing *Dance Moms*. I was like, 'Let's just make it fun.'"

On *Dance Moms*, the Siwas carved out roles as tacky arrivistes with way too much ambition. Sure, the other dancers were capable onstage, but offstage, JoJo couldn't seem to turn it off. The word *obnoxious* got thrown around a lot. Host Abby Lee

Miller called her a "greedy little monster" but still gave her the show's rotating participation honor—a place at the top of the *Dance Moms* pyramid. Jessalynn leaned into the stage-mom archetype, dressing her daughter in foofy handmade bows, partly to drum up some narrative tension. "Abby would say, 'She can't wear a bow tomorrow,' and I'd be like, 'Abby, you can't tell us what to wear,'" she says. "Then I would come home, and I would be like, 'JoJo, Abby doesn't want you to wear a bow tomorrow,' and she'd go, 'That's it. I'm wearing a bigger bow.'"

On *Dance Moms*, the Siwas were fun to hate, but also fun to root for. They lasted two seasons, departing on good terms to "pursue other opportunities." The first was the self-released single "Boomerang"—a "Hey Mickey"—esque address to the haters, imbued with more raw attitude than vocal talent. "I don't really care about what they say," rapped 13-year-old JoJo. "I'mma come back like a boomerang."

This post-*Dance Moms* JoJo was a victim, not a villain. She projected a new, unflappable ethos with an amped-up look: more glitter, more Lycra, more rainbows, more sequins and a side ponytail choked back so tight that her adolescent hairline seemed to grimace. She crowned each ensemble with her now signature bow—the kind of personal touch that branding types call "ownable." She signed her first merchandising deal in 2016 with the tween retailer Claire's. Since then, JoJo has sold more than 35 million hair bows, or just over three per YouTube subscriber.

After Claire's came Nickelodeon, and the overall talent deal that launched JoJo from merely notable to famous. Her singular talent is hard to pin down. The Nick contract alone involves numerous vocations: She dances. She sings. She posts videos and photos. Her likeness appears, in animated form, on *The JoJo & Bow-*

BACKPACK, BED, GLITTER, JOURNAL: COURTESY KOHL'S; HAIRPORABLES DOLL, HEADPHONES, PAJAMAS, BANDAGES, BOOM BOX, PANTS: COURTESY JOJO SIWA; SMART WATCH: COURTESY JCPENNEY



< The star's face graces everything from sheet sets to smart watches.

Bow Show Show, a cartoon series. It also appears, in buyable form, on her JoJo's Closet consumer products line, available at Walmart and Target. Amazon has more than six pages of official JoJo products.

The JoJo aesthetic is Midwestern Bob Mackie: rainbow sequin separates, machine-washable tulle, hearts and stars and unicorns. There are JoJo Siwa sneakers, JoJo Siwa pillows, JoJo Siwa fruit snacks and JoJo Siwa dolls. There are life-size JoJo Siwa wall decals and JoJo Siwa training bras. In Siwa's California home—where the whole family now lives—there's a JoJo Siwa “merch room” containing all these products. A tour of the trove can be easily found on the JoJo Siwa YouTube channel. Beyond this room, the rest of the house is also festooned with JoJo Siwa merchandise.

Considering the scope of her career, it is hard to find the line where *children's entertainer* segues into *intellectual property*. The closest parallel might be Mary-Kate and Ashley Olsen, whose conglomerate Dualstar exceeded a billion dollars in retail sales in 2011. But as the Olsens graduated from *Full House*, their empire matured to include tween entertainment and, later, their understated adult fashion line the Row. At 16, JoJo is still rainbows and sparkles. Watching from afar, it's hard to believe that the star will not soon outgrow her brand.

This crisis of maturity breeds hate more than concern, at least among those adults who even know who JoJo Siwa is. The comments on her YouTube channel are disabled according to the platform's policy on minors, but elsewhere online, she receives a barrage of criticism. “Why does JoJo Siwa have the voice of an old white gym teacher?” wonders one Twitter user. Another scoffs that she acts “like a 5-year-old on acid.” “Can we pray for JoJo Siwa's hairline?” asks a third. Last year, when

JoJo debuted her Christmas present—a BMW 4 Series convertible, wrapped in a giant image of her face—25-year-old Justin Bieber commented on Instagram, “Burn it.” (He later apologized.)

Children's entertainment is frequently inane, but JoJo rams a rod through a cultural nerve center. Her clothing is gauche. Her excitement is annoying. She's aggressively confident. In a world overwhelmed by so much irony and pain, she comes across, at best, as a blithe anachronism. At worst, she is part of the problem itself: the crass co-optation of empowerment for cash, resulting in an endless stream of plastic toward the landfill.

Because JoJo's image is so often reproduced—and reproduced with such pizzazz—it seems to recommend her as an object, not a person. In an industry prone to sexualizing teen girls, her childlike demeanor feels uncanny or coerced. (It comes across as doubly strange once you learn she's 5 ft. 9 in.) While other female stars her age enjoy at least some uplift from third-wave pop feminism, JoJo remains the butt of the joke, the face in the meme, the reason to cringe. Underlying all this hate, there appears to persist a kind of lurid disbelief: Can someone really be this way? Can a girl with her face on a fruit snack ever grow?

THE MORNING of her New York City performance on June 18, Siwa arrived at the theater in stage makeup—a silver glitter star over one eye, inscribed in her heart-shaped JoJo Siwa logo. She does her own makeup first thing when she wakes up, to leave more time to run around backstage. In just one month of being on the road, she'd already traveled to 14 states, visiting 21 venues. In total, her show will make 89 stops. “But this is the day that I've been most looking forward to,” she said. “This is the only

venue that I cross Freddie Mercury.”

Queen is Siwa's “favorite thing ever,” even more since seeing *Bohemian Rhapsody* last year. Off to the side, on the dressing-room floor, a shadow box from her manager showed Queen keepsakes and their JoJo analogs—the Queen Q crest and the JoJo Siwa heart, Mercury's marque and her own.

The rest of the dressing room was arrayed with the temporary comforts of the road. A can of drugstore hair spray on the vanity stood tall. A box of Lucky Charms, relieved of its marshmallows, waited for an adult to come and refold its flaps.

In the corner, a redundant publicist scrutinized the conversation without speaking. Siwa has an innate media savvy that calls up questions of nature vs. nurture. She speaks with the kind of naive self-possession that comes with never having had to doubt yourself. “Be yourself” is the ethos of her brand. Self-acceptance, Siwa said, is part of what fuels her respect for Mercury.

“He was unapologetically himself ... He looked different than everyone,” she said. “I've always been like that, and I've never really known someone who pretty much does what I do.” She sped through the thought, then doubled back again. “But obviously Queen is on a much different level.”

In person, Siwa is easy to like. What sounds onscreen like boilerplate comes across in life as a coherent value system. “Be yourself” may be a platitude for children, but the teen, unbelievably, remains a true believer. Siwa likes herself, likes being herself and wants people to know that she likes being herself. A small, but significant, part of her life involves asking people to take her at face value.

“The third time I met with Pam”—Kaufman, president of Viacom Nickelodeon global consumer products—“she



said, ‘You know, you don’t have to come to these meetings all *JoJo*. You can just come normal.’ And I said, ‘Pam, we have to have a talk, because I need you to know that this is my normal. This is my life. There is no other secret. There is no other person. I literally am *JoJo*. I wear the bright clothes every day. I wear the sparkly hair bows. I wear the high-top shoes. I sing the fun music. I talk really loud. I talk fast, and I talk a lot. This is who I am.’”

The consumer-products line is an extension of this truth. “My hand is in everything, along with a lot of other people’s hands,” Siwa said. “It’s not like I design a hoodie and we release it online, but I have what is called a style guide.” Siwa has the last say on “every image, every picture, every graphic, every color, every font and every word.” For branded-content deals, she’s been known to rework scripts, tweaking the tone to better suit her demographic. Later that day, I’d watch her manage the sound check, delegating tasks, issuing praise and remembering the names of even minor staffers. She views this work as a hands-on education.

“There has never really been someone who has done what I’ve done,” she said. “I’m live-action. I’m the first real-life license—the first human, who is not playing a character, to be licensed as a brand.”

One only needs to look as far as Kim Kardashian to see this isn’t exactly true. But in the entertainment world, as in psychology, it’s hard to say for sure where being yourself gives way to projecting

JoJo performs in Anaheim, Calif., on Aug. 13, one of 89 stops on *JoJo Siwa D.R.E.A.M. the Tour*

a public persona. In any case, the sentiment remains: Siwa takes pride in her image empire and loves to partake in the work that it entails. She can sound like a workaday Joe married to her job: “I have a [learner’s] permit in California. I could drive by myself if I had a free hour to go get my license.”

California child-entertainment law limits her work to six hours per day and caps the number of consecutive workdays at five during the school year. These laws don’t yet apply to social media, but even if they did, it would be hard to litigate which parts of being *JoJo Siwa* count as labor. Being a worldwide lifestyle brand is an anomalous take on the human experience. Siwa knows this, though she doesn’t really know what the conventional alternative might look like. To her, it feels normal to work with her mom and to have her best friends be her 30-something dancers. It feels normal to have her own products at big-box stores and to have a tête-à-tête with Elton John.

“This is all I’ve known since I was 9,” she admitted. “For about half my life now, it’s just been what it is.”

All childhoods have their own circular logic. It takes growing up to earn your own reality, and this can be hard for even ordinary people who don’t have a whole

industry on their shoulders. Siwa maintains she could walk away tomorrow, though she knows the real question is what happens if she doesn’t. When she turned 16, the 5-year-olds turned 6. The 6-year-olds turned 7, and the 8-year-olds turned 9.

“There will be a time when I age up,” she said. “Everyone does grow up.”

But that day, she couldn’t yet predict what that might look like.

“I think I’ll cross that bridge when I get to it,” she said. “But I mean, what do people want me to do? Wear black every day?”

THE WORLD OUTSIDE was falling apart, but inside the Beacon Theatre, no one knew it. Roughly 2,000 little girls reached new octaves as *JoJo Siwa* took the stage. She zoomed from the dark on pink custom Heelys and stopped on her mark with a broad, sporty stance. I tried to think of another teen star who moved about with such neutral wholesomeness. This was a girl outside space and time.

A vast sea of bows stretched across the room, tossing and turning with the tempo of the music. “Who loves candy?” Siwa asked. Where we were going, there was no need for irony. The little girls shrieked as she launched into a song—a cover of the Strangeloves’ “I Want Candy” or a cover of Aaron Carter’s cover of “I Want Candy.” They shrieked as a unicorn pranced across the stage. They shrieked when the screen showed a thousand *JoJo* faces, emerging from the mouth of a larger *JoJo* god.

With each next song, Siwa’s energy increased. She sang about drama, and dancing, and parties. She sang “Boomerang” and “Every Girl’s a Super Girl,” and I got chills against my better judgment. A mom sitting next to me received a text: “Wow, I feel so sorry for you.” At 8:30 p.m., the crowd started to flag. Younger kids started rubbing their eyes. A few parents dragged screaming children down the aisles.

“Tonight’s show is really special to me because as you all know I love Freddie Mercury,” Siwa said. Her voice, as she spoke, got faster and faster. Her baseline hype was hard to transcend, but soon she achieved the highest plane of emphasis. “So I just want to say thank you for coming tonight, because it’s a really special night for me, so it’s a really special night for you, and I’m just really happy to be here.” □

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To assemble our second annual list of the World's Greatest Places, TIME solicited nominations from our correspondents around the world as well as industry experts. Then we evaluated each one based on key factors, including quality, originality, innovation and influence. The result: 100 new and newly noteworthy destinations to experience right now, from America's hottest hometown pizzeria to a Tokyo museum bringing digital art to life.



BARS + RESTAURANTS



CRUISES



HOTELS



CULTURAL CENTERS



PARKS



THEME PARKS

A PIONEERING CAMP

LEOPARD HILL

Mara Naboisho
Conservancy, Kenya



The volume of wildlife crowning the locally owned Mara Naboisho Conservancy around Leopard Hill is exceptional—elephants playfully clashing tusks, sturdy zebras galloping, big-maned lions nuzzling cubs. But animals aren't the sole highlight at this eco camp, which opened in early 2018 with six tents outfitted with outdoor showers and retractable roofs for stargazing from bed, starting at \$375 a night. The all-Kenyan guide staff includes three trailblazing young Maasai women who attended guide school and learned to drive 4x4s. They pursued this career path with help from Basecamp Explorer, Leopard Hill's parent company, a staunch supporter of female guiding. —Kathryn Romeyn

DINNER AMONG THE FISH

UNDER

Lindesnes, Norway



From land, Europe's first underwater restaurant resembles a large slab of rock peeking out from the surf. But once guests descend to the dining room, located 5 m below sea level, they're treated to panoramic views of sea life—think spiny dogfish and vibrantly finned wrasses—while they feast on dishes from Under's ever changing tasting menu, curated by Danish chef Nicolai Ellitsgaard. (It's sourced mainly from local ingredients, such as brown crab and clams.) The whole experience, says co-founder Stig Ubostad, is designed to give patrons "a sense of awe." Assuming, of course, that they can get a reservation, which is typically made up to six months in advance. —Samantha Cooney

A LAGOON OF THEIR OWN

GEOSEA GEOTHERMAL SEA BATHS

Husavik, Iceland



Overtourism is a tremendous problem for Iceland—its iconic Blue Lagoon packs in visitors by the busload. But roughly 300 miles north in Husavik, a port town along the country's Arctic Coast Way, a lesser-known geothermal spa gives its guests plenty of room to breathe. Opened in August 2018, Geosea draws its mineral-rich seawaters from two nearby drill holes. It has multiple infinity-edged pools and a built-in waterfall, swim-up bar and bathtub—warm water averaging around 100°F. The spa operates year-round, staying open till midnight in summer and 10 p.m. in winter—a spectacular way to catch the northern lights when swimming after dark. —Ashlea Halpern





SIGURJON STEINSSON

EUROPE'S NEW RIVER QUEEN

AMAMAGNA



In May, one of the largest ships ever to cruise on a European waterway launched on the Danube, central Europe's longest river, which runs through lush countryside and capital cities including Budapest and Vienna. The *AmaMagna*, built exclusively for the Danube's wide expanse, provides cruisers with ample personal space—from cabins that look more like five-star hotel rooms to a pool on the roof. All excursions on shore are included in the offerings, which start at \$3,799 for a seven-day cruise. —*Billy Perrigo*

IN THE MOOD FOR MUJI

MUJI HOTEL GINZA

Tokyo



The Japanese retail brand Muji has a cult following in Asia—and until recently, it's been known for its minimalist furniture and unbranded home items. But Muji is moving beyond lifestyle stores and into hotels. After opening two in China, the company debuted its first Japanese location in April. Rooms start at less than \$150 a night and are decked out with Muji furniture, bed linens and snacks. —*Amy Gunia*

CHILE'S CULINARY CROWN

BORAGÓ

Santiago, Chile



Boragó has long been at gastronomy's forefront, thanks to practices such as inoculating vegetables with mold spores to make "cheese." In February, founder Rodolfo Guzmán surprised foodies worldwide when he revealed plans to move his 12-year-old restaurant to a new space with stunning views of the Andes—then opening it days later. —*Nicholas Gill*

A POOL FOR THE AGES

HEARST CASTLE

San Simeon, Calif.

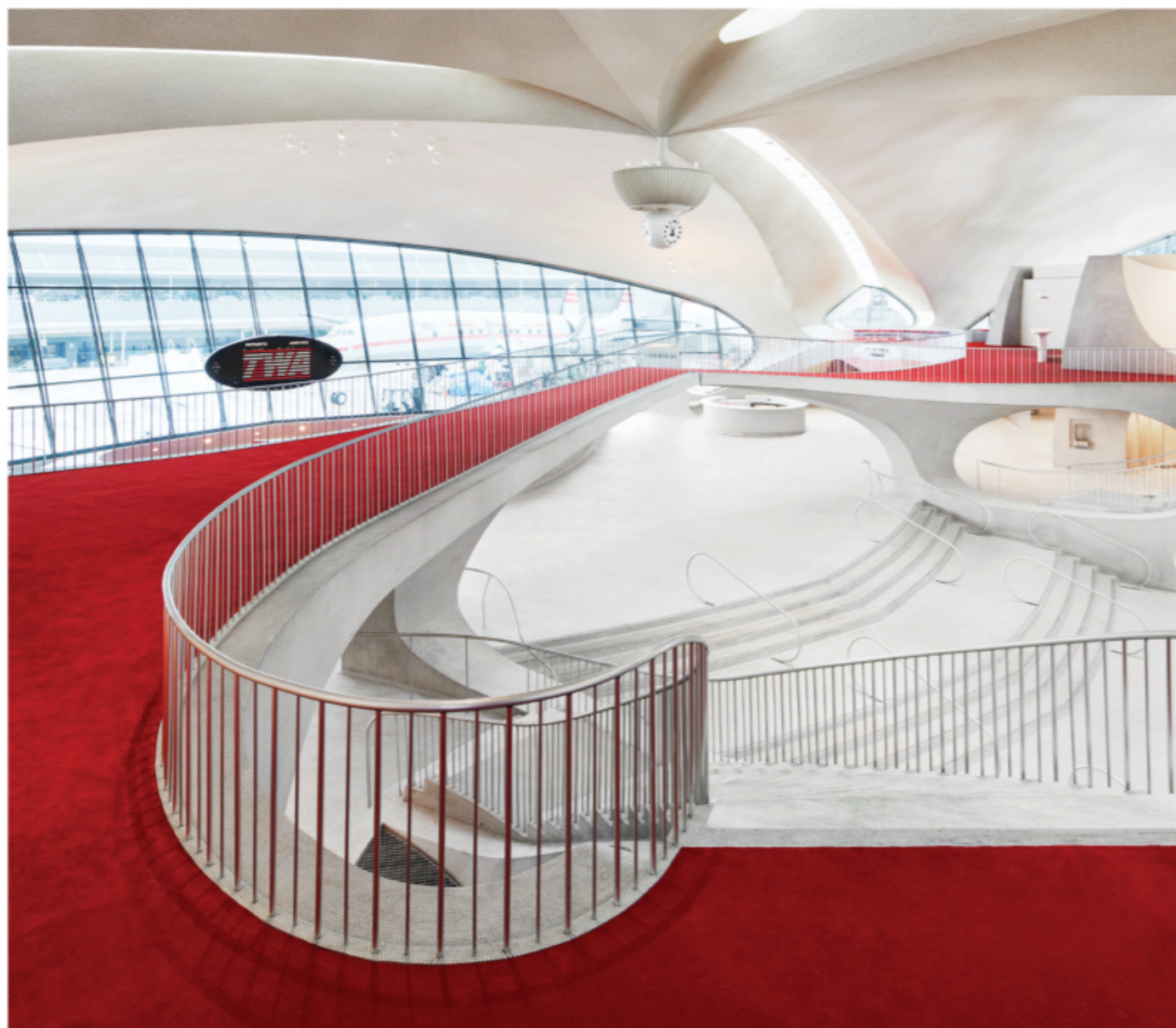
 Few places better capture the opulence of early-20th century California than Hearst Castle, the 165-room former personal estate of publishing magnate William Randolph Hearst. The property, which will celebrate its centennial next year, has its own theater, billiard room, beauty salon and pair of dazzling swimming pools. The Neptune Pool, in particular, is the stuff of legend, with a Vermont marble basin and alcove as well as vast colonnades flanked by a quartet of Italian relief sculptures. In 2014, the pool was drained because it was leaking up to 5,000 gallons of water a day. It took four years and \$10 million to repair the cracks, update the plumbing and restore the Art Deco sculptures. The pool was finally refilled in August 2018 and now even hosts the occasional pool party for members—with tickets at \$950 a pop. —Ashlea Halpern

SAILING IN STYLE

THEORY

Galápagos, Ecuador


 It's the remoteness of the Galápagos Islands that makes them so special, but what's good for local wildlife like the blue-footed booby makes it tougher for visitors to get there in style. Enter Ecoventura's new yacht, the *Theory*, which transports just 20 passengers (and two naturalists) to the islands on weeklong itineraries year-round. The ship was just accepted into the prestigious Relais & Châteaux hospitality consortium—along with its sister boat, they're the only yachts to receive such a designation—which speaks to the luxurious accommodations on board. Guests enjoy gourmet Ecuadorean meals, tranquil gray interiors with oversize windows for ocean views and an open bar. —Kaitlin Menza



A NEWBORN BEACH

POHOIKI BEACH

Isaac Hale Beach Park, Hawaii


 Locals refer to last year's eruptions at Kilauea in Hawaii Volcanoes National Park as "events"—a nod to the fact that while they were destructive, they weren't devastating. Hawaiian tradition attributes volcanic activity to Pele, a deity often called the goddess of volcanoes and fire. When Pele destroys, she also creates—and last year she increased the size of the island by more than 1 sq. mi., including a new black-sand beach at Isaac Hale Beach Park. The park reopened in December after a nearly six-month closure. While the tides may wash away the black sand within a few years, for now the new beach is a monument to nature. —Hannah Lott-Schwartz



Cocktail master

KUMIKO

Chicago

 Kumiko is "an expression of my Japanese heritage in a formal cocktail-bar setting," says Julia Momose, the co-owner of the West Loop spot. Momose creates drinks seasonally with Japanese ingredients and techniques, like an old-fashioned with Japanese whiskey, *shochu* and bitters, which pair well with co-owner and executive chef Noah Sandoval's steamed buns with pork belly, or Japanese milk bread with fermented honey ice cream and truffle. Momose designed a companion menu of spirit-free drinks with equal care, in part because her parents don't drink alcohol. The beverages span the spectrum from bitter aperitifs to fresh, tropical flavors. In May, they moved the *omakase* tasting dinner and beverage pairing to an eight-seat space in the basement, and gave it its own name, Kikko. —Merrill Fabry

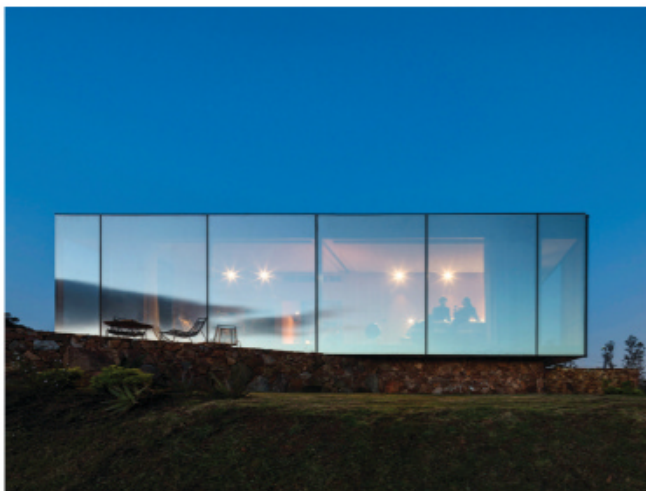
AN ODE TO THE PAST

TWA HOTEL

New York City



In May, architect Eero Saarinen's TWA Flight Center reopened as the first hotel in New York's John F. Kennedy airport. The TWA Hotel's debut was a banner event for the city's travel industry, backed by a dedication to detail. Tyler Morse, the developer behind the project, spent years collecting jet-age memorabilia—from cocktail stirrers to branded toiletries—and boosting the profile of Saarinen, who died in 1961. As hotels increasingly rely on Instagram-friendly gimmicks or a thin association with past grandeur, the depth of the TWA Hotel's devotion to authenticity is notable. It's a fitting tribute to the original architect, who in 1956 told *TIME*, "[Architects] must have an emotional reason as well as a logical end for everything we do." —*Daisy Alioto*



ALL ABOUT THE VIEWS

SACROMONTE

Maldonado, Uruguay



Every cabin at Sacromonte is fronted, floor to ceiling, by sleek, mirrored panes of glass. The buildings, designed by the architecture firm MAPA, sit on locally sourced stone foundations, and the reflections allow them to blend in with the environment—while also providing panoramic views (and privacy) from inside. "We want nature to be the main character of Sacromonte," says Edmond Borit, founder and CEO of the hotel and vineyard, which opened last year. Guests can hike around the property on trails to find other gems including an A-frame chapel made of cross-laminated timber, giant kaleidoscopes that reflect the nature around them, and a 12-m table for meals or wine tastings. —*M.F.*



Maori moment

HIAKAI

Wellington, New Zealand



When chef Monique Fiso returned to New Zealand after seven years in New York City, she hosted a series of pop-ups that paid homage to her Maori roots. She soon found that sourcing ingredients for the pop-ups wasn't as easy as she'd hoped—local suppliers weren't used to short-notice requests for vegetables like *taewa* (Maori potatoes) or *titi* (a native bird). But Fiso's dedication paid off. The buzz her permanent restaurant Hiakai ("hungry" in Maori) created when it opened last year has not only spurred appreciation for native ingredients in New Zealand but also fostered new supply chains for those who want to cook with them.

—*Joseph Hincks*

LAST LOOK

NEWSEUM

Washington, D.C.



Some places you see because they're new, others you visit before they're gone. The Newseum is one of the latter. After 11 years and millions of visitors at its Pennsylvania Avenue location, the museum dedicated to celebrating the First Amendment announced in January that it was closing its doors by the end of the year. The Newseum will eventually relocate to a more financially sustainable location—one that seems likely to be less prominent than its current address. Until then, wander the hall of Pulitzer Prize-winning photographs, see pieces of the Berlin Wall, and stand atop the Hank Greenspun terrace for panoramic views of the Capitol building and the capital city while you still can. —*Abby Vesoulis*

ART AMONG THE TREES

CHILLIDA LEKU

Hernani, Spain



A 27-acre outdoor museum filled with late abstract sculptor Eduardo Chillida's work is once again welcoming walk-ins. Chillida Leku's Basque farmhouse and art-filled fields were established as a sculpture park in 2000 by Chillida and his wife. Financial difficulties led to a partial closure a decade later, but the site formally reopened in April. Now art aficionados can wander the grounds to witness the more than 40 pieces on display. Featuring the sculptor's greatest works, Chillida Leku also has archival materials—public for the first time. "The museum itself is, without a doubt, my favorite piece," says Luis Chillida, one of the artist's sons. "It embodies his way of being and the way he worked." —*Rachel E. Greenspan*

PROGRESSIVE BY DESIGN

EATON WORKSHOP DC
Washington, D.C.

 D.C.'s Eaton Workshop is a radical experiment in hospitality—it's a hotel in the nation's capital that doubles as a center for progressive causes. The enterprise is the brainchild of Katherine Lo, who sought a way to combine her family's hotel business with her passion for activism. Opened in September 2018, with an additional location in Hong Kong, Eaton Workshop includes a community radio station, a members' workspace, live-music venues, a cinema and artist studios. It also hosts activism-oriented events. "Much of what Eaton offers as a 'hotel' all exists to further one mission," says Lo. "To make the world better by supporting social and environmental justice."
—Alejandro de la Garza

FROM HOSPITAL TO HOTEL

THE JAFFA
Tel Aviv

 Built in what used to be a convent hospital that served Christian visitors to Jerusalem in the 19th century, the Jaffa in Tel Aviv is today set up for pilgrims of a different kind. The 120-room hotel, part of Marriott's Luxury Collection portfolio, was one of several to open in Jaffa last year, capping the ancient port city's ascent as one of Tel Aviv's buzziest neighborhoods. World-renowned designer John Pawson teamed up with Israeli architect Ramy Gil on the renovation, which incorporates the arched colonnades, stone walls and stained-glass windows of the building's former incarnation. Modern touches come by way of Pawson's minimalist interiors and a new life for the old chapel, reborn as a cocktail bar. —Joseph Hincks

MOUNTAINS OF ART

MUZEUM SUSCH
Susch, Switzerland

 When Polish entrepreneur Grazyna Kulczyk established an international center for art, she forwent an up-and-coming cosmopolitan locale for a rural village in a Swiss alpine valley. Muzeum Susch inhabits a 12th century monastery and brewery, with gallery spaces burrowed into the mountains behind it. The museum's inaugural exhibition, "A Woman Looking at Men Looking at Women," opened in January with the aim of exploring "the notion of the feminine in its diverse facets." The museum will also host a think tank dedicated to analyzing the role of women in the arts and sciences. —Wilder Davies



SCOTTISH BY DESIGN

V&A DUNDEE
Dundee, Scotland

 The famed Victoria & Albert design museum has opened its first ever location outside of London in an unexpected place: Dundee, a quiet city on the coast of Scotland. It's the cornerstone of a more than \$1 billion plan to revitalize the city, a onetime industrial powerhouse now struggling with high unemployment. Renowned architect Kengo Kuma designed the modern building, which sits on the Dundee waterfront, to mimic Scotland's iconic cliffs. The free museum—the first in Scotland for design—opened in September 2018 and tells the story of the country's design history, with highlights including Charles Rennie Mackintosh's Oak Room. It welcomed its 500,000th visitor in March.
—Samantha Cooney



Family jewel

ROSEWOOD
Hong Kong


 Since being named CEO of the Rosewood Hotel Group in 2011—when her family bought the Texan hotel brand—38-year-old Sonia Cheng has led an impressive expansion, with seven new hotels in Asia alone. But the brand's newest location, in Cheng's childhood home of Hong Kong, may be its best yet. The property (with rooms starting at about \$580 a night) bills itself as a "vertical private estate": while a traditional estate might be surrounded by landscaped gardens, outdoor space and greenery will be distributed throughout the Rosewood's 43 floors. Five of the hotel's planned eight bars and restaurants are open, and guests can enjoy local delicacies at the Legacy House restaurant, followed by a drink and live jazz at DarkSide. —Amy Gunia



A restaurant taking on recidivism

ALL SQUARE

Minneapolis

 All Square makes a mean grilled cheese, but its ambitions are much greater. Opened in September 2018 by civil rights lawyer Emily Hunt Turner, the sandwich shop offers its formerly incarcerated employees a professional-development fellowship

in addition to a living wage. Fellows work at least 30 hours a week at the shop, training in everything from wellness to social media. They devote 10 to 15 more hours to learning critical skills like résumé writing and personal finance. The program, designed to develop real-world experience and sterling references, recently graduated 11 fellows in its first class. Turner hopes to replicate the business model and reduce recidivism in cities across the country. —Ashlea Halpern

CASTLE FOR THE NIGHT

CASTELLO DI SANTA SEVERA


Santa Marinella, Italy

 Want to stay in a medieval castle for less than \$50 per night? Look no further than this 14th century beachside citadel, which now functions as a hostel. The site—a short train ride from Rome—touts more than 2,000 years of fascinating history, with owners that ranged from the Catholic Church to Roman aristocracy. After four years of restoration, the castle and its adjacent buildings now function as a museum complex and hostel that sleeps 42. Despite the coastal grandeur, it is relatively low-frills: guests are responsible for seeing to their own breakfast in its communal kitchen. Visitors can explore the grounds, learn about ancient sea navigation or relax on the public beach beyond its walls. On Mondays, the castle is closed to the public—allowing hostel guests to roam free from crowds. —W.D.

URBAN DESERT ROSE

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF QATAR

Doha, Qatar

 In the Persian Gulf, a desert rose forms when sand adheres to the crystals created by the slow evaporation of salt basins. The resulting clusters look like interlocking discs and inspired Jean Nouvel's design of the National Museum of Qatar, which sprawls along the waterfront of the capital, Doha. The destination museum opened in March and uses immersive video screens and dioramas to take visitors on a mile-long journey through the peninsula's history, from geology to pearl diving to Bedouin life and finally back to geology—namely, to the discovery of the oil and gas that enriched the kingdom and paved the way for groundbreaking structures like this one. —Karl Vick

GRECIAN GLAMOUR

FOUR SEASONS ASTIR
PALACE HOTEL ATHENS

Athens



In times gone by, the Astir Palace hotel hosted famous guests from Aristotle Onassis to Frank Sinatra. Now, after a \$280 million revamp by new proprietor Four Seasons, it's heralding a new era—and still in touch with its Aegean roots. Its spa was inspired in part by ancient Greek traditions, and includes an aroma steam grotto. Rooms start at around \$550 a night. —B.P.

INNOVATION AT SEA

CELEBRITY EDGE



The newest billion-dollar vessel from Celebrity Cruises comes with its very own Magic Carpet. That's the name of the *Celebrity Edge's* standout feature—a floating platform that can be parked on several different levels of the ship. Depending on where it is, it can extend the ship's pool area, offer an open-air dining option or streamline disembarkation. The *Edge* takes design seriously throughout: Eden, a multilevel space in the ship's rear, combines creative cuisine and performance art with three stories of ocean views. —Alejandro de la Garza

A FRESH OASIS

HYATT REGENCY
AQABA AYLA RESORT

Aqaba, Jordan



On the banks of the Gulf of Aqaba sits one of Hyatt's newest properties; it's the debut hotel in the new mixed-use development Ayla Oasis, which includes a marina and Jordan's first 18-hole championship golf course. The stark white buildings and azure accents evoke Mediterranean serenity with Middle Eastern details—and the ancient city of Petra is less than two hours away. —Hannah Lott-Schwartz



RASMUS HJORTSHØJ



Treetop trek

CAMP ADVENTURE

Ronnede, Denmark

 Camp Adventure in Denmark opened its 45-m-tall, hourglass-shaped tower in March, with a spiraling walkway that allows people to climb above the forest canopy for panoramic views of the surroundings. Located about one hour south of Copenhagen in the Gissselfeld Klosters Skove forest, the camp offers visitors other activities as well, including zip lines and a tree-climbing course that covers 18.5 acres. The adventure park has an ecological conscience too. On Sept. 14, Camp Adventure plans to host a televised fundraising event, aiming to earn enough money to plant 1 million trees. —Billy Perrigo

WHERE CUBAN CREATIVES GATHER

FÁBRICA DE ARTE CUBANO

Havana

 While many visitors to Cuba's capital might gravitate to the candy-colored buildings and classic cars of Old Havana, it's worth a trip to the city's Vedado neighborhood to see Fábrica de Arte Cubano. Created by Cuban rocker X Alfonso in 2014, the cooking-oil factory turned community project has quickly become the city's buzzy creative hub. Within the cavernous warehouse's refurbished walls, you'll find galleries, performance-art spaces and a dance floor that's home to the capital's most captivating movers and shakers. As Havana prepares to celebrate its 500th anniversary this year, look to Fábrica to see its cultural future. —Cady Lang

ERASING CARBON FOOTPRINTS

CAMP GLENORCHY


Glenorchy, New Zealand

 Forty minutes from the adventure hot spot of Queenstown, New Zealand, is Camp Glenorchy: the country's first energy net-zero hotel and campground. Camp Glenorchy aims to use 50% less energy and water than similar accommodations by relying on a solar garden and smart lighting; there's also a smell-free composting toilet in each unit. The design channels the surrounding valley's natural beauty through the use of construction materials like recycled timber while still incorporating upscale features like an in-room tablet that enables guests to monitor their energy use. —Ali Wunderman

THE HEART OF VIETNAM

AZERAI LA
RESIDENCE HUE


Hue, Vietnam

 Hue is a city steeped in history, and the Azerai La Residence Hue has one of the best views in town: it sits across from the famed 19th century citadel where Vietnam's last imperial family once ruled. The 122-room boutique hotel (rooms start at \$250 per night) was opened in a renovated French-colonial mansion by Adrian Zecha, the founder of Aman Resorts, who has a knack for finding extraordinary settings. Within the citadel, guests can visit emperors' tombs, ornate pagodas and other remnants of the Imperial City. Afterward, they can head to the hotel's saltwater swimming pool and lush lawn—both of which overlook the Perfume River, which gets its name from the scented flowers that fall into the water courtesy of nearby orchards. —Amy Gunia

AN EPIC SPACE

TROY MUSEUM

Tevfikiye, Turkey


 Dedicated to the place made famous by Homer's *Iliad*, the Troy Museum—situated amid the city's ruins—brings an ancient legend to life. Among the collections are 24 pieces of “Troy Gold” jewelry, dating back to 2400 B.C.E., that were returned in 2012 by the Penn Museum in the U.S. in a landmark agreement between the two countries, as well as pottery and marble works from the era of the Trojan War. The cubelike museum, which opened in October 2018, was designed by Istanbul-based architecture studio Yalin Mimarlik to look like an excavated artifact—not unlike those that might be found at the archeological site nearby, viewable from the terrace at the top of the building. The museum brings a new buzz to the location of the storied siege. —Suyin Haynes



A park for all

THE GATHERING PLACE

Tulsa, Okla.


 When the philanthropist George B. Kaiser spearheaded the creation of this \$465 million green space on Tulsa's waterfront, he hoped to help unite the city, which has struggled with inequality. The 66-acre park, which is open to the public for free, includes playgrounds, gardens,

a skate park, a BMX track, a concert venue and a number of restaurants. It also hosts a variety of public programming, from Zumba classes to family nature walks, furnished by a \$100 million endowment. Designers also prioritized accessibility: the park is built to be ADA-compliant, and there are desensitization areas for individuals on the autism spectrum. —Wilder Davies

MEXICO MEETS INDIA

MASALA Y MAÍZ

Mexico City


 Norma Listman and Saqib Keval dreamed of a restaurant that could tackle colonization and worker injustice through the food it served. “Then all of a sudden [the dream] took over in a beautiful way,” says Listman. They found similarities among the food cultures of South Asia, East Africa and Mexico, and combined the Mexican and Indian cuisines of their families to create an exploration of *mestizaje*, the cultural blending that resulted from shared histories of trade, migration and colonization, through inventive foods like Indian *uttapam* made of fermented rice, chickpeas and blue-corn masa, served with a fried egg. In September they're moving to a new location in the city—“a beautiful and weird space,” says Keval—designed by artist Pedro Reyes. The menu is “an opportunity to give voice to cultures that are usually hidden,” Listman says. —Merrill Fabry



Full steam ahead

AMERIKALINJEN

Oslo


 In the early 20th century, the now defunct Norwegian America cruise line carried thousands of Norwegians in search of new lives from Oslo to New York City. The company's old headquarters is now Amerikalinjen, a new boutique hotel (part of Preferred Hotels & Resorts) that pays homage to the historic link between the two cities. The basement club is inspired by New York's jazz scene, while the lobby's marble, brass and velvet decor evokes the glamour of crossing the Atlantic on a steamship. At the bar, guests can sip from glasses designed by the same company that supplied Norwegian America's cruise ships in the 1950s. —Ciara Nugent



PRESERVING NATURE

OMAANDA


Windhoek East, Namibia

 Plenty of resorts sell themselves as an escape, but few can offer the near total isolation of Omaanda, a clutch of 10 huts in a 22,000-acre nature reserve in Namibia. French hotelier Arnaud Zannier opened Omaanda in 2018, after philanthropist and TIME contributing editor Angelina Jolie persuaded him to join Namibia's still developing safari scene and work with the nearby Naankuse animal sanctuary—partly funded by the Jolie-Pitt Foundation—to protect local wildlife. Now, guests can spot zebras, giraffes, rhinos and more on daily excursions, or simply relax in the hotel's infinity pool. —C.N.

AIRSTREAM ADVENTURE

AUTOCAMP

Yosemite National Park, California

 If your ideal camping trip skews more Troop Beverly Hills than Into the Wild, the glamping experience of AutoCamp may be for you. With locations in sunny California—including Santa Barbara, the Russian River and, most recently, Yosemite—AutoCamp's campsites have boutique-hotel comforts, parceled into luxe Airstream trailers, cabins and tents. There are shuttle services and guided hikes for those who want to get in touch with nature, but those who don't want to hit the trails can enjoy the site's amenities like fire pits, heated pools, sundecks and live music. —Cady Lang

DREAM COME TRUE

RUBY CITY

San Antonio


 Before she died in 2007, Linda Pace, heiress to a salsa fortune, encountered a red building in a dream. She presented a sketch of the building to architect David Adjaye in hopes of creating a space that could showcase her art collection. Adjaye, now world renowned, has finally realized Pace's dream. In October, the glittering crimson museum, dubbed Ruby City, will open down the street from Pace's current gallery, offering the sites' visitors the chance to see works by artists such as Alejandro Diaz and Do Ho Suh completely free of charge. —W.D.



A NEW CITY CENTER

THE SHED

New York City

 The Shed's retractable outer shell has been likened to a "bubble-clad airplane hangar." But when the arts center opened in April, some New Yorkers saw it as something else entirely: an olive branch. The Shed is a nonprofit situated amid Hudson Yards, a \$25 billion development that has become a symbol of wealth inequality in a city where rising rents can price out low-income residents. In August, after Hudson Yards developer and Shed board member Stephen Ross hosted a Trump campaign fundraiser that provoked controversy, the nonprofit released a statement underscoring its independence, saying, "At the Shed, we believe that access to art is a right, not a privilege." Notably, while nearby apartments list for millions, tickets to the Shed's events start at \$10 and its Open Call exhibitions, of works by local artists, are free. —Cate Matthews

DISHES OF A DIASPORA

BENNE ON EAGLE

Asheville, N.C.

 This restaurant, which opened in December 2018, gives diners a taste of Appalachia's diversity. Informed by the West African spirit of sankofa, which encourages living with a deep respect for history, chef Ashleigh Shanti has developed dishes that recognize the influence of the African diaspora in the Appalachian South by weaving in nods to both cultures: benne seeds, a West African staple, season hummus made from black-eyed peas, while buttermilk britches, a twist on a mountain specialty, accompany ogbono pork ribs. There are personal touches from Shanti too, like a cornbread soup with pickled blueberries, made in homage to her grandmother. —Mahita Gajanan

SOUL FOOD WITH A SIDE OF HISTORY

INDIGO

Houston

 At Indigo, history is on the menu. The restaurant serves “neo-soul food,” dishes intended to provoke conversation about the history of black and indigenous people in America. For example, a smoked-pastrami main comes with a primer on the different experiences of Italians and African Americans during the Great Migration. Indigo, which opened in July 2018, is the first permanent restaurant for chef Jonny Rhodes, who ran a series of pop-ups in Houston after refining his skills at New York City’s Gramercy Tavern. Guests can finish their meals with a cup of okra-seed coffee—a popular drink in the South during the Civil War. —Amy Gunia

EYE-POPPING AESTHETICS

SALT OF PALMAR

Palmar, Mauritius

 For Camille Walala’s first foray into hotel design, the London-based French artist teamed up with Mauritian architect Jean-François Adam to transform a *riad*-like building at the edge of Mauritius’ Palmar Beach into eye-popping Instagram bait. The 59-room boutique inn, which opened late last year, is done up with graphic Memphis Group–like geometry; black-and-white stripes à la French conceptual artist Daniel Buren; and punchy islander paints and fabrics in bold coral, pineapple and cerulean hues. It’s a fabulous-looking space with many luxe amenities (organic bedding, rainfall showerheads, yoga mats), but the attraction is more than skin deep. Sustainability is a big priority for SALT, which touts zero food waste and no single-use plastics, as well as a new bio-farm supplying its locavore-minded on-site restaurant. —Ashlea Halpern

FROM THE FARM

BARN BY BIOTA


New South Wales, Australia

 Chef-on-the-rise James Viles put the 100-mile diet to shame this year with the opening of BARN by Biota in the New South Wales Southern Highlands. The hyperlocal kitchen concept builds menus solely from the fruits of the surrounding lands. But there’s a catch: you’ll have to book at least a month in advance to nab a spot at the roughly twice-a-month family-style meals, which might feature Angus beef cooked over the fallen-tree-coal fire or honey collected from the hives. Diners are also welcome to explore the property with BARN’s chefs, forage for seasonal botanicals or fish for yabbies (a type of freshwater crayfish) to eat later. —Hannah Lott-Schwartz



MAKING WAVES

SEABOURN OVATION

 Some giant cruise ships cater to spring breakers, others to the retired set. But Seabourn’s new ship, the *Ovation*, is in a class of its own. With space for just 600 passengers, the focus is squarely on luxury, above all else: guests can expect 24-hour room service, kayaking and sailing sojourns directly off the ship, as well as an onboard casino, plunge pool and nightclub. Members of the crew even went to a “gelato university” in northern Italy to perfect the flavors made and served onboard. Prices start at \$3,500 for a seven-day journey through the Mediterranean. —Billy Perrigo



Bollywood meets the beach

SOHO HOUSE MUMBAI

Mumbai

 Asia’s first Soho House puts a local spin on the formula that has allowed Nick Jones’ members-only clubs to blossom across the U.S. and Europe. Soho House Mumbai, located in a breezy 11-story building overlooking the Arabian Sea, offers a library, a cinema with 34 seats (each with its own footstool), and a rooftop bar and pool; its Cecconi’s restaurant is open to nonmembers, as are most of the 38 hotel rooms. The unique feel comes in the shape of block-printed fabrics from Rajasthan; handwoven cane furniture; environmentally sustainable, sari-coated lampshades; and some 200 art pieces by mostly South Asian artists, including Bharti Kher and Subodh Gupta. —Joseph Hincks



A library built to last

CENTRAL LIBRARY

Calgary, Alberta

Calgary is home to one of North America's largest library systems, and the city now boasts an architectural masterpiece as the system's central hub. The downtown complex, designed by the Norwegian firm Snohetta, is flooded with natural light and features several aesthetic

odes to its native land: walls made of cedar from nearby British Columbia, a curved facade meant to evoke cloud arches formed by the region's Chinook winds. Of course, the library also houses an extensive collection of books—over 450,000. But it's embracing its role as a broader educational center as well, offering learning labs, residency programs, and even a digital production studio built for podcasters and YouTubers. —Wilder Davies

SHOWCASING PORTLAND'S ROOTS

WOODLARK

Portland, Ore.

In a city known for being hip, it's hard to get noticed. But Woodlark, a new Portland hotel, stands out for its attention to style as well as the way it has embraced its roots. Opened in December 2018, the hotel (with rooms from \$150) joins two historic buildings, the Cornelius Hotel and the Woodard & Clarke building, and features a botanical theme that pays tribute to the flora of the Northwest. In the lobby, guests can visit an outpost of floral-design studio Colibri. But Woodlark's true center is Abigail Hall, a former ladies' reception hall turned bar named after Oregon suffragist Abigail Scott Duniway. Its comfort-food menu—think grilled cheese on Texas toast and buttermilk-fried chicken fingers—is generating outsize buzz. —Alejandro de la Garza

DIGITAL SAVVY

MORI BUILDING DIGITAL ART MUSEUM

Tokyo

The world's first museum solely dedicated to digital art has drawn huge crowds—it celebrated its 1 millionth visitor five months after opening in June 2018. Credit its Instagram-worthy immersive environment, which uses a combination of visual projections and physical installations to allow patrons to wade through virtual windblown fields of grass, explore a seemingly infinite crystal world and bounce between galaxies. The 107,000-sq.-ft. space was conceived by the Japanese art collective teamLab, which was founded in 2001 and includes animators, programmers and mathematicians. The group's mission, per its website, is to explore "a new relationship between humans and nature, and between oneself and the world through art." —W.D.

A SANCTUARY FOR STARGAZERS

MATA KI TE RANGI


Pitcairn Islands

 Despite their lack of hotels, the Pitcairn Islands may intrigue tourists with their new International Dark Sky Sanctuary title, which recognizes the island group's sanctuary—named Mata Ki Te Rangi—as one of just 10 destinations worldwide that have the best conditions for galactic gazing. Travelers willing to book a homestay or private home and make the challenging trek to the remote islands will find government-protected dark skies. —Brandon Presser

STUDY BREAK

UNIVERSITY ARMS
CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge, England

 Don't be fooled by the name of the University Arms Cambridge—it's a Marriott hotel, not a student haunt. But if you love history, you'll feel at ease here. Rooms start at an affordable (as these things go) \$200 a night. In many ways, the hotel channels Cambridge University's library: suites are named after graduates like Newton and Darwin, and you'll find their portraits lining the walls. —Billy Perrigo

A REGAL RESPITE

FASANO SALVADOR


Salvador, Brazil

 Fasano Salvador is the first luxury hotel in Salvador, Brazil, a city founded in the 16th century. But while the hotel is new on the scene, its regal facade and elegant details are more than in keeping with styles of the past. Located inside the former Art Deco headquarters of newspaper *A Tarde*, the hotel adds glitz to the city's UNESCO-recognized historic center. The rooftop pool looks out over the Bay of All Saints, and the high-ceilinged restaurant features a nickel-plated bar, lit by vintage sugar-making equipment turned into chandeliers. —Nicholas Gill

THE FUTURE OF FUN

STAR WARS: GALAXY'S EDGE
AT DISNEYLAND

Anaheim, Calif.

 Nearly seven years after the Walt Disney Co.'s acquisition of Lucasfilm comes Disneyland's largest-ever single land expansion—and a shift of the California theme park's nostalgic identity toward more futuristic experiences. At Star Wars: Galaxy's Edge, guests don't simply mingle with their favorite characters, they live among them while customizing their own droids at the Droid Depot (see photo) and visiting Oga's Cantina, Disneyland's first public watering hole serving alcoholic space brews and “blue milk.” The 14-acre land brings planet Batuu and its trading post to life, along with two groundbreaking attractions: a *Millennium Falcon*-themed flight simulator, open now, and the multifaceted cinematic journey of Star Wars: Rise of the Resistance, opening later this year. —Carlye Wisel





(C) DISNEY

RETHINKING THE RIVER CRUISE

AMERICAN SONG

 Most cruise-centric riverboats in the U.S. evoke the style of the steam age, replete with paddle wheels and nostalgic furnishings. Not so with the *American Song*, which made its first voyage in October. Although its interior amenities are fairly standard for cruises—think glass atria, a putting green and an exercise room—its exterior is sleek and glassy, putting it more in line with the au courant vessels that have helped popularize riverboat cruising in Europe.

—Wilder Davies

AN IMPOSSIBLE SPACE

THE OTHER PLACE


Guilin, China

 Floating archways, staircases suspended over the floor and doors that open to nowhere—these are all features designed to help visitors get lost within the “Dream” and “Maze” rooms in the Other Place, a new boutique hotel in Guilin, China. Both of these two-bedroom suites were designed to pay homage to the work of the 20th century Dutch artist M.C. Escher, famous for his artistic explorations of infinity and “impossible spaces.”

—Hillary Leung

SMALL BUT MIGHTY

LIECHTENSTEIN TRAIL

 The tiny principality of Liechtenstein often goes overlooked by travelers with busy European itineraries, but this may be about to change. In May, in honor of its tricentennial, the country debuted the Liechtenstein Trail: a nearly 47-mile trek that winds its way through town squares and alpine hillsides, linking the country together and visiting many of its most iconic sights, including Vaduz Castle, the fabled 12th century fortress.

—Cate Matthews

ARTIST'S LAIR

EMPATHY SUITE

Las Vegas

 Dead sharks floating in formaldehyde. A pill cabinet filled with diamonds. For those who know Damien Hirst's work, these motifs are as familiar as they are bizarre. And for a cool \$200,000, guests can spend two nights in their presence at Hirst's 9,000-sq.-ft., two-story Empathy Suite at the Palms Casino Resort in Las Vegas. But the art isn't the only reason to splurge (and splurge and splurge). The suite, which opened in March, also features a cantilevered pool overlooking the Vegas Strip, a Himalayan salt room and other luxurious amenities all tweaked with Hirst's signature touch. It also includes a 24-hour butler, car service and \$10,000 in resort credit, just in case guests want to try and win back some of their investment at the blackjack table. —Alejandro de la Garza

THEATRICAL GLORY

TEATRO GALLI


Rimini, Italy

 In its earlier years, the Teatro Galli in Rimini on Italy's eastern coast lent its stage to extravagant opera performances. But during World War II, the theater was all but destroyed by Allied bombing. Patchy postwar restoration projects meant the theater never had a chance to regain its former glory—until October 2018, when it reopened after eight years of construction and long-awaited finishing touches to performances by choirs, ballets and orchestras. A bonus: in the restoration process, archaeologists discovered Roman lodgings, mosaics and floors. —Billy Perrigo

A WILD ADVENTURE

SHINTA MANI WILD

Cambodia


 At Shinta Mani Wild, the adventure begins before hotel guests even step onto the property. To get there, they're whisked along a zip line over lush forests and waterfalls, after which they dismount for a drink at the reception's Landing Zone Bar. (Other transportation options are available to less intrepid travelers.) The hotel, which opened in December, invites guests into Cambodia's wilderness via activities like hiking and kayaking, just steps away from its 15 classic, safari-style tents, which line the Tmor Rung River. Nestled within a nature sanctuary, the hotel also partners with local conservation organizations to protect the area from poaching and logging. Room rates start at around \$2,300 a night. —Hillary Leung



Showcasing street food

NYUM BAI

Oakland, Calif.

 It's been just over 1½ years since Nyum Bai opened, and the Cambodian street-food spot keeps accruing accolades: in February, after being lauded by food media, the restaurant was named a James Beard Award semifinalist. Nyum Bai is a lifelong dream of chef and owner Nite Yun, who was born in a refugee camp in Thailand. She showcases her family's cuisine in noodle soups and stews that combine hearty ingredients like pork belly with the crunch of raw vegetables. Yun says her mission is to "share a culture that nobody really knew about"—as patrons enjoy a soundtrack of "golden era" Khmer music. —Rachel E. Greenspan

ART, RESTORED

MUSEUM OF BLACK CIVILIZATIONS

Dakar, Senegal

 For decades, the most prominent homes for African art were within museums in Europe. That has changed, especially with the December opening of Senegal's Museum of Black Civilizations, a repository for African art, culture and history. The \$34 million project, some 50 years in the making, is designed to be a creative laboratory that will help shape the continent's future sense of identity, according to museum director Hamady Bocoum. It also hopes to reclaim some of the continent's lost past: the museum has room for some 18,000 artworks, but many of the galleries are not yet filled. Senegal has demanded the restitution of artworks stolen during colonial times, prompting some countries, like France, to lend pieces for the opening. —Aryn Baker





Defying expectations

SFER IK

Tulum, Mexico


 SFER IK doesn't look like an ordinary exhibition space—and that's the point. The Tulum location's nestlike structure was conceived as a place where avant-garde artists could gather and envision new ways to create, inspired by

their unusual environs. Made of locally sourced wood and cement, the space's ceilings and walls are trimmed with plants sprouting along circular apertures to the world outside. Its current exhibition includes a diaphanous purple cloak suspended from the ceiling—an allusion, in part, to elevated states of consciousness by artist Bianca Bondi. Entry is free, so long as visitors agree to walk the floors barefoot. —*Wilder Davies*

AUSTRALIA'S ANCESTRAL HOME

ULURU-KATA TJUTA
NATIONAL PARK


Northern Territory, Australia

 At the center of Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park is the physical and cultural heart of Australia, a red sandstone monolith called Uluru (or Ayers Rock, its colonial name) that towers over the outback's desert plains. The park is a UNESCO World Heritage Site and sacred to the aboriginal Anangu, who've inhabited the land for tens of thousands of years. Despite these protections, the 1,142-ft.-tall rock has been marred for decades by poles and cables that allow visitors to climb the site. That changes in October, when the government will officially close Uluru to climbing, ensuring the monument sustains no further human damage. —*Hannah Lott-Schwartz*

LIVING LIBRARY

VAC LIBRARY

Hanoi

 Part library, part urban farm, part playground, this Farming Architects project in Hanoi is geared toward teaching kids about ecosystems and agriculture. The VAC Library's climbable wooden structure contains both a small collection of books and a mini-ecosystem comprising a garden, a fish pond and a chicken coop—all connected through aquaponics. Waste from the koi pond is used as fertilizer to help vegetables grow, which cleanses the water and returns it to the pond. Chickens raised in cages within the structure provide eggs and waste that also help the plants flourish. Visitors can lounge and read the books stored in cubbies beneath the library's solar panel-fitted roof, and children are welcome to clamber up its beams. —*Mahita Gajanan*

A TASTE OF TRADITION

80/20

Bangkok

 When 80/20 reopened after a complete renovation at the tail end of 2018, chefs Napol Jantraget and Saki Hoshino didn't just show off its extra seating and open kitchen. The couple introduced their cult following to a new tasting menu (nine courses at last count) that put the three-year-old restaurant on a par with longtime fine-dining stars. As casual as it is cutting-edge, 80/20 upends the traditional notion of a fancy Thai meal with friendly, not fussy, service; progressive wine pairings; and strictly local ingredients from the kingdom's farmers and fishermen. Expect to pay around \$100 a person (\$150 if you want five glasses of wine) and regret nothing. —Andrew Parks

AN AVIAN HAVEN

ZEALANDIA

Wellington, New Zealand


 Before New Zealand was home to humans, chatty birds like the tui and kereru dominated the land's lush green hills and valleys. But the arrival of invasive mammalian predators drove many native species to extinction. In the early 1990s, sanctuary founder Jim Lynch envisioned a pest-proof environment in the heart of Wellington. The result is Zealandia, a 500-acre area encircled by a mesh barrier that keeps out stoats, weasels and more; it's the world's first fully fenced urban eco-sanctuary. Since the mesh was erected in 1999, more than 20 species of native wildlife have been reintroduced, including the *hihi*, one of the country's rarest birds. In February, Zealandia announced an important milestone: the birth of the sanctuary's 1,000th *hihi* chick. The species, which was nearly extinct before reintroduction efforts began, is one of Zealandia's success stories. —Ali Wunderman



UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT

INTERCONTINENTAL SHANGHAI
WONDERLAND

Shanghai

 In a city known for towering skyscrapers, the InterContinental Shanghai Wonderland—the brand's 200th hotel—is a bit of an anomaly: it's underground. Opened in late 2018, the “earthscraper” descends 290 ft. into the side of an abandoned quarry in suburban Shanghai. Two of the structure's 18 floors are situated underwater, offering views of a 33-ft.-deep aquarium at the bottom of the quarry. The hotel is less than an hour's drive from the city center, perfect for holiday makers who would rather wake up to cascading waterfalls and rugged cliffs than to the busy downtown scene. —Hillary Leung



A soaring statue

STATUE OF UNITY


Gujarat, India

 The world's tallest statue, which was unveiled last fall, stands at 597 ft. on an island in the Narmada River. It towers over the Sardar Sarovar Dam in the western Indian state of Gujarat, offering visitors the chance to see views of nearby mountain ranges from its chest. The tourist attraction pays homage to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who became India's first Deputy Prime Minister in 1947. Although Patel is touted as a symbol of national unity, he has more recently been claimed as an icon of right-wing Hindu nationalists—meaning that to some critics, the record-breaking statue is a monument to the country's political divisions, as well as to Patel. —Abhishyant Kidangoor

OUT OF THIS WORLD

KACHI LODGE

Uyuni Salt Flats, Bolivia


 Until we start sending commercial flights to the moon, the Kachi Lodge on Bolivia's Uyuni Salt Flats might be the most otherworldly vacation you can take. Opened in May at the foot of a volcano, Kachi (a two-night stay starts at \$1,980 per person) is the first permanent accommodation of its kind on the world's largest salt flat, and its cluster of geodesic domes resembles an isolated space station. During the day, guests can take one giant leap on Uyuni's bright white expanse of salt—an estimated 10 billion metric tons of it—which was left behind as an ancient lake dried up. At night, they can stargaze through transparent cutouts in the domes' walls, uninterrupted by light pollution thanks to the remote, high-altitude location—Kachi Lodge is more than 35 miles from the nearest town and 11,800 ft. above sea level. —Ciara Nugent



BOOK SMART

HELSINKI CENTRAL LIBRARY OODI

Helsinki

 Finland is one of the world's most literate countries, and in December it opened a 185,000-sq.-ft. landmark that speaks to this accomplishment: a library of the future. But what does the future entail? Robot librarians, it seems, and game rooms, recording studios, an immersive 3-D chamber with illuminated walls, a movie theater and multiple concert areas. And of course, it's a great place to read: the top floor (dubbed "book heaven") has floor-to-ceiling windows, set off by low, white aluminum bookshelves, and abundant seating. To emphasize the light and air, nine living trees stand tall over the shelves. —Kaitlin Menza



A night among barrels

HOUSE OF SANDEMAN

Porto, Portugal

 Since its founding in 1790, the port and sherry maker Sandeman has prided itself on tradition, and its new hostel—on top of the company's historic wine cellars—allows visitors to discover over two centuries' worth of history and portmaking. Guests can tour the cellars, stay in private suites overlooking idyllic Porto or room with up to 14 others in spacious dorms for as little as \$18 per night—albeit in king-size bed frames inspired by the port-wine barrels. Those features have paid off: Hostelworld named House of Sandeman the best new small hostel of 2019. —Suyin Haynes

LINKING THE CAUCASUS

TRANSCAUCASIAN TRAIL

 For decades, fraught geopolitics and poorly marked trails gave all but the most intrepid hikers pause about the Caucasus Mountains, an area known for its jaw-dropping geography. But the Transcaucasian Trail, a volunteer-based initiative aiming to link Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan via an 1,800-mile network of paths, is making the region more accessible. Its latest bushwhacked additions: a 50-mile stretch that runs through Dilijan National Park, the Armenian nature reserve prized for its crystalline lakes and 10th century monasteries, and a 77-mile track in Svaneti, a Georgian region known for its glaciated peaks and UNESCO-protected guard towers. —Benjamin Kemper

RECORD-BREAKING RIDE

CANADA'S WONDERLAND

Toronto

 In the world of roller coasters, it's all about offering a thrill like no other. And that's exactly what Canada's Wonderland is doing with its new Yukon Striker ride. At 245 ft. tall (including underground portions) with a top speed of 80 m.p.h., the Yukon Striker has claimed the title as the world's tallest, fastest and longest dive coaster—a model that features a 90-degree drop. This coaster plunges into an underwater tunnel, does a 360-degree loop and has floorless cars that leave riders hanging in the open air as they career along its 3,625 ft. of track for 3½ minutes of unbridled thrills. —Alejandro de la Garza

BRIDGING CULTURES

QURANIC PARK

Dubai

 At the world's first Quran-inspired park, which opened in April, the gardens are based on stories from Islam's sacred text: they feature plants mentioned in the Quran and the sunna—such as pomegranate and olive trees—as well as a lake split by a stone pathway, symbolizing the parting of the Red Sea. The park's aim, per the city's municipal government, is to bridge cultures and promote tolerance by offering visitors exposure to Islam in a family-friendly space. —*Hillary Leung*

TAILOR-MADE FOR TEENS

NORWEGIAN JOY

 A go-kart track at sea? The idea might sound a bit wild, but that didn't stop Norwegian Cruise Line from building one into the *Norwegian Joy* back in 2017. Now, after a \$50 million 2019 renovation, the ship has even more to keep passengers entertained. The *Joy* is built to delight the most discerning of cruise guests—teenagers. Look for the Galaxy Pavilion virtual-reality and gaming center, as well as an open-air laser-tag arena and a retro American diner. —*Alejandro de la Garza*

WHERE BEER LOVERS LIVE

DOGHOUSE HOTEL AND BREWERY

Columbus, Ohio

 In 2017, Scottish beer brand BrewDog raised the funds on Indiegogo for what it dubbed the “world's first craft-beer hotel,” rallying more than 2,000 people to the cause. Now, at DogHouse Hotel and Brewery (rooms start at \$172), guests can enjoy bathroom beer fridges, in-room draft taps and the luxury of not having to call an Uber after a night out. —*Abby Vesoulis*



KYLE DE NOBREGA



A major comeback

ZAKOUMA
NATIONAL PARK

Chad

 In southeastern Chad, Zakouma National Park offers the chance to witness a miracle. The national park's populations of wild elephants and rhinos had been all but wiped out before its management was taken over in 2010 by the public-private consortium African Parks. The elephant herd is now one of the largest in Africa, and the rhinos are also making a comeback. Last year, African Parks airlifted in a starter herd from South Africa, marking the long-awaited return of the rare black rhino. A U.S. advisory warns travelers against visiting Chad because of the risk of terrorism and other dangers, but the park's conservation achievement is still one for the books. —Aryn Baker

ARGENTINE APERITIVO

LA FUERZA

Buenos Aires

 Argentina's *aperitivo* tradition stretches back to the country's Italian- and Spanish-immigrant influences around the turn of the 20th century. Now, a new vermouth bar in Buenos Aires' Chacarita neighborhood has put a modern twist on the long-standing predinner drink. La Fuerza makes its vermouth—on tap in white and red—using exclusively local ingredients, including botanicals like elderberry, lemon verbena and creosote bush. Every part of the process takes place in Mendoza: from harvesting the grapes to distilling and bottling. The bar's focus on all things Argentine extends to its menu as well—in addition to classics like *tortilla de papa* (a Spanish omelette), there are creative dishes like *fainazzeta*, a combination of a *fainá* (chickpea flatbread) and a *fugazzeta* (a sauceless pizza with onions and cheese). —Abigail Abrams

RED-HOT LODGING

ARTS DISTRICT
FIREHOUSE HOTEL

Los Angeles

 Staying the night in a firehouse might appeal to many people's inner child, but spending time in one as stylish, quirky and thoughtful as Los Angeles' Arts District Firehouse Hotel should play to adult sensibilities as well. Opened in April, the hotel—converted from a 1927 firehouse—features a café serving coffee and desserts from an in-house pastry chef, as well as a New American restaurant headed by chef Ashley Abodeely, formerly of New York City's Eleven Madison Park and NoMad LA. But the real soul of the Firehouse Hotel is its playful design—unsurprising given its art-filled location—with each room's unique decor centered on a different color of the rainbow. —A.G.

PILOT PREP

HANEDA EXCEL
HOTEL TOKYU

Tokyo

 Have you ever wished while flying that you could try a spell in the pilot's seat? If so, this hotel just outside Haneda International Airport has you covered. In July it opened the Superior Cockpit Room, a suite equipped with a Boeing 737-800 flight simulator. For around \$300, guests can book 90-minute sessions with an instructor, during which they follow a flight path to pilot a passenger jet from Tokyo to Osaka's Itami airport. A stay in the suite itself is not included—but true aviation geeks are welcome to book one anyway (starting at \$238 per night) to spend the night among the controls. —Alejandro de la Garza

NOLA'S NEW LOOK

HOTEL PETER & PAUL


New Orleans

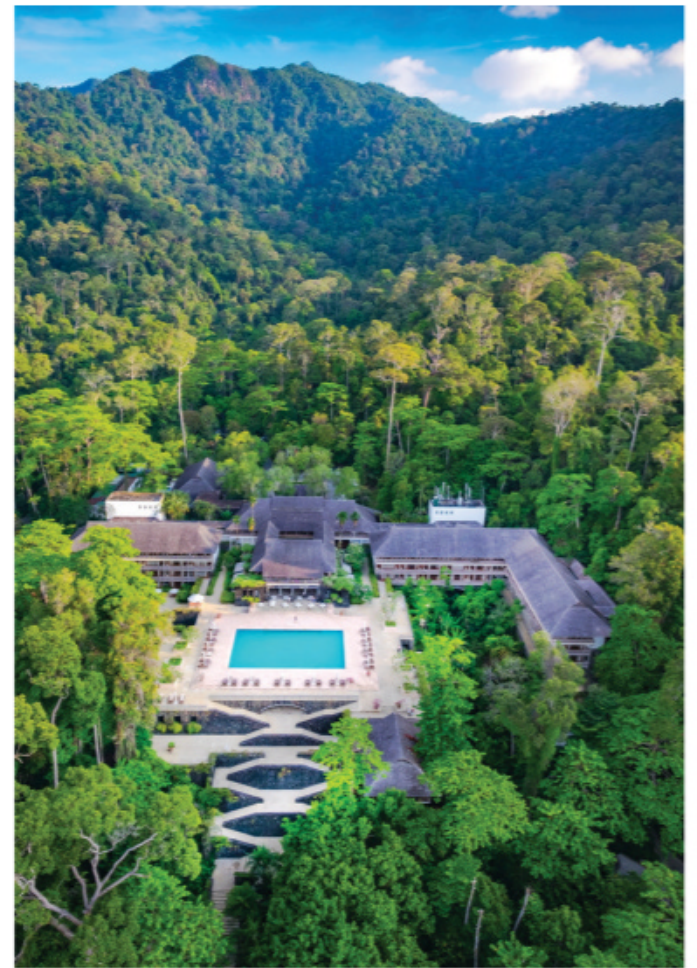
 Hotel Peter & Paul, in New Orleans' Marigny neighborhood—a joint project of resident Nathalie Jordi and design firm ASH NYC—is unlike any other hotel in New Orleans. For starters, it's spread out over four historic buildings, including a Catholic church that dates back to 1861. Original features, like stained-glass windows and marble fireplaces, were meticulously restored. The bedrooms on each floor have a different gingham-patterned color scheme, as well as decor that combines history (religious paintings, antiques from European estate sales) and modern-day New Orleans (locally designed furniture). When they're not in their rooms, chances are guests are visiting the Rectory, a section of the hotel that's home to the coffee shop, open-air courtyard and bar—run by the team behind beloved wine bar Bacchanal, with a daily happy hour from 3 to 6 p.m. —S.W.

JUNGLE QUEEN

DATAI LANGKAWI

Langkawi, Malaysia


 This grande-dame hotel, which first opened in 1993, has always been sought after for its remote location, pristine beaches and rain-forest setting. After a major renovation, completed in December, it's clear the resort has held onto its crown—without losing any of its ultra-sustainable backbone. Bedrooms and villas (starting at \$595 a night) were completely redone using natural materials like local *kawi* stones, and a new nature center offers activities for all ages. But the buzziest update is an elevated walkway built through the surrounding 10 million-year-old rain forest, where on-site naturalists introduce guests to macaques and flying lizards. —Stephanie Wu



BREAKING BREAD

MASA

Bogotá


 There are plenty of bakeries in Bogotá, but none are as stylish as Masa. In late 2018, the brand opened a new location in the Colombian capital. Large triangular and circular windows cut into concrete walls reveal a warm glow when the sun sets. Studio Cadena, a New York-based firm known for its playful designs, created the 7,500-sq.-ft. space—comprising a restaurant, café, dining area, retail space and bakery—to blend the concepts of interior and exterior. So far, its strategy seems to be working. Customers have been flocking in for quick visits or to spend a whole day snacking on Masa's treats, which include homemade bread, sandwiches, croissants and—one of its most popular desserts—bread pudding. —Madeline Roache



Smoky Mountain getaway

BLACKBERRY MOUNTAIN

Walland, Tenn.

 Blackberry Mountain, a new outpost of the award-winning hotel Blackberry Farm, is Tennessee's fresh take on a spa resort. With an art studio, rock-climbing wall and backpacking excursions through the backcountry, this 5,200-acre property in the foothills of the Great Smoky Mountains offers plenty of distractions for those wishing to unplug. Cottages start at \$1,045 per night, and visitors can try treetop meditation or massages at the subterranean spa. Despite the luxuries, proprietor Mary Celeste Beall, who opened the property in February, says her true goal is to help guests immerse themselves in the rugged terrain. —Rachel E. Greenspan



Making a splash

SOUNDWAVES

Nashville

 The Gaylord Opryland Resort and Convention Center in Nashville, located a short walk from the Grand Ole Opry, already boasted nearly 3,000 rooms and nine acres of indoor gardens, but in December it added what purports to be

the nation's first "upscale" water park. Aside from the thrills—indoor surfing, a tower with multiple water slides, a pool with a rock-climbing wall—there are plenty of places to relax too. Look for adults-only pools and lounging areas, private cabana rentals, living walls of plants and a glass roof atop the tall atrium, ensuring guests can sunbathe year-round. —Kaitlin Menza

SUMMER CAMP ON THE COAST

LEKKERWATER
BEACH LODGE

De Hoop Nature Reserve,
South Africa

 The De Hoop Nature Reserve, a few hours from Cape Town, is a haven for vulnerable species like the Cape vulture and the bontebok. Now, visitors can appreciate this rare nature up close with a two-night summer-camp experience, courtesy of the Lekkerwater Beach Lodge, which opened in April on a private white-sand beach. (Rates start at around \$193 per person per night.) Up to 16 guests arrive at the lodge at the same time, share family meals cooked with local ingredients, and take part in activities like exploring tidal pools, hiking and whale watching. While the lodge's communal atmosphere is reminiscent of summer camp, the sleeping quarters are anything but. The seven beachfront bedrooms feature floor-to-ceiling windows that open onto private verandas with views of the Indian Ocean. —Samantha Cooney

SLINGING ONCE AGAIN

LONG BAR AT THE
RAFFLES HOTEL

Singapore

 The Long Bar is usually at the top of any cocktail lover's must-see list in the Lion City. Now, thanks to a yearlong renovation effort, the Raffles' popular bar is better than ever. The tropical decor—inspired by Malayan life in the 1920s—has been updated to include contemporary rattan furniture. New visitors will be happy to hear that bartenders are still serving Singapore slings, which were first created at the bar in 1915, and returning ones know that the best thing to pair with the pink, gin-based cocktail is peanuts. Want to fit in? Throw your peanut shells on the floor when you're done—the bar encourages this quirky tradition. —Amy Gunia

SINGULAR SINGLE MALT

MACALLAN DISTILLERY

Craigellachie, Scotland


 If *The Lord of the Rings'* Hobbiton were colonized by aliens, it might look something like the new Macallan distillery and visitors' center, which opened in June and put the Scottish Highlands on the architectural map. The undulating grass rooftops and stone paths fringed with wildflowers evoke some distant Celtic past, while the 69-ft.-high ceilings, whirring machinery and a hovering UFO-like scotch bar (where you can pony up for the Macallan M or the Macallan '52, among some 950 other bottles) root you squarely in the 21st century. So do the barrel-nosing stations and a glass-wall display of an archive comprising 398 bottles, nine decanters and nine flasks. Avoid drinking on an empty stomach by grabbing a bite at the on-site restaurant. —Benjamin Kemper

QUOKKAS, UP CLOSE

DISCOVERY

ROTTNEST ISLAND

Rottnest Island, Australia


 The Dutch explorer who stumbled upon Rottnest in 1696 named it after what he believed was a community of rats living on the island. Actually, the furry creatures he saw were quokkas—rare and adorable marsupials that now draw hundreds of thousands of tourists each year. Discovery Rottnest Island, which in March became the island's first new accommodations in decades, caters to travelers who want to stay near what's been dubbed the world's happiest animal. Its 83 eco-tents are connected via raised boardwalks to minimize impact on the sand dunes—and on the quokkas, around 10,000 of which run free around the island. —Clara Nugent



BEAUTY ON A BUDGET

25HOURS HOTEL TERMINUS NORD

Paris

 Trying to explore Paris on a budget without staying in a hostel? As of its January grand opening, 25hours Hotel Terminus Nord might be one of the few spots in the City of Lights where you can do just that. Medium rooms give guests access to queen or double beds, about 200 sq. ft. of space, wi-fi and Bluetooth speakers from \$150 a night. Steps from Gare du Nord—the busiest train station in Europe—25hours is a convenient jumping-off point for other destinations like Brussels, London and Amsterdam. The hotel embraces its international clientele with a popular restaurant that features Persian, Arabic, French and Russian influences. —Abby Vesoulis



Wellness circuit

SIX SENSES BHUTAN


Bhutan

 Six Senses Bhutan is a single hotel that offers five unique experiences. Spread across the west and central valleys of Bhutan, the five lodges that constitute the property offer guests the opportunity to take guided journeys through the mountains of the Himalayan kingdom. Interhotel itineraries include stays at the Palace in the Sky Lodge in Thimphu—the traffic-light-less capital city, where guests can museum-hop—and the more remote Stone Ruins Lodge in Paro, named for a small fortress on a nearby ridge. Rooms at the three open lodges start at \$1,500 per night; the final two are scheduled to debut by early 2020. —Suyin Haynes

WHERE ART MEETS ARCHITECTURE

NATIONAL KAOHSIUNG CENTER FOR THE ARTS

Kaohsiung, Taiwan


 A former Japanese military base is now home to the largest performing-arts center in the world under a single roof. Opened in October 2018, the National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts spans 25 acres in the south of Taiwan. The compound, designed by the Dutch architecture firm Mecanoo, features a roof resembling a canopy inspired by the banyan trees commonly found in the region, which dips to the ground to form the base of an outdoor theater for up to 20,000. Inside, the four other performance venues have already seen world-class acts, including the London Philharmonic Orchestra. —Hillary Leung



RAISING THE BAR

LIME OUT

Saint John Island

 To get to one of the buzziest taco spots in the U.S. Virgin Islands, you'll have to hop on a boat or go for a swim. Lime Out, an outpost of the island's popular Lime Inn, opened in March off the coast of Saint John. Staff deliver food to nearby boats or serve visitors who swim up to the solar-powered restaurant—said to be the first floating taco bar in the Caribbean. The tacos are filled with everything from surf and turf to ceviche, and relayed in biodegradable containers. "We're trying to do everything we can to keep the environmental integrity of the bay," co-owner Chelsea Baranowski says. —Samantha Cooney



Hiking with heritage

RED SEA MOUNTAIN TRAIL

Red Sea Mountains, Egypt

 Plunging gorges and craggy mountain-sides are not all that separate mainland Egypt's first long-distance hiking trail from the beach resorts in the nearby vacation town of Hurghada. Inspired by the success of a sister trail on the Sinai Peninsula, which opened in 2015, the new route is a community tourism initiative managed by the local Maaza tribe and dedicated to preserving Bedouin heritage and empowering nearby communities. Over the 10 days or so it takes to walk the trail's 105 miles, hikers are accompanied by Bedouin cameleers who provide traditional food and insight into their culture. An extension is already in the works. —Joseph Hincks

A PIZZA RENAISSANCE

PIZZERIA BEDDIA


Philadelphia

 There used to be a bare-bones pizzeria in Philadelphia with two employees, zero seats and a 40-pizza-per-night limit. In 2015, *Bon Appétit* named its pizzas the best in the U.S., citing their "always-crispy-chewy crust." Less than three years later, however, Pizzeria Beddia had to close: the hours-long lines made the two-man operation unsustainable. "I didn't want to get to a point where I hated it," says owner Joe Beddia, describing an atmosphere in which visitors would snap photos of him through the window while they waited in line. Now, Beddia is back with a full-service joint just a few blocks down the road from the original. It's stocked with 120 seats, dozens more employees and a cloud-shaped light installation that encourages you to linger. "Everything's changed," Beddia says, "except the pizza." —A.V.

PAYING IT FORWARD

GORONGOSA NATIONAL PARK

Sofala, Mozambique

 In 2004, Gorongosa National Park was re-envisioned as a "human-rights park"—one that both protects wildlife and invests in nearby communities. The park's rebirth is the result of a recently extended collaboration between the Carr Foundation and Mozambique's government. Roughly one-third of the park's budget goes to community programs, from after-school clubs to aid for those affected by Cyclone Idai. Local fauna have also gotten a boost: there are more than 100,000 large mammals in the park, a 10-year increase of over 700%. "When we first started ... I could drive all day and perhaps see one animal," says Carr Foundation founder Greg Carr. "Now we are a sea of wildlife." —Cate Matthews

A TRADITION PRESERVED

XIQU CENTRE

Hong Kong

 With the opening of Xiqu Centre in January, traditional Chinese theater has a new world-class architectural home. On the \$346 million structure's facade, woven-metal panels resemble stage curtains pulled back. Inside, the space's 1,073-seat theater hovers 90 ft. above a ground-floor plaza, which provides space for exhibitions and workshops to preserve the centuries-old form of theater art that some worry could become lost with time. Xiqu Centre is the first performance venue to open as part of Hong Kong's sprawling West Kowloon Cultural District, an international-grade arts hub the city is building on reclaimed land overlooking the iconic Victoria Harbor. —Hillary Leung

SECRET NO LONGER

WOLFGAT

Paternoster, South Africa

 A meal at Wolfgat, which opened in 2016, has always been a dining experience for the truly dedicated. That's because the 20-seat venue is in the remote fishing village of Paternoster (pop. 2,000), a two-hour drive from Cape Town. There, owner Kobus van der Merwe serves *strandveld* cuisine (which roughly translates to "beach vegetation"), harvesting his ingredients from the beach in front of his restaurant and the wild bush behind it. Until recently, his customers mostly kept quiet about the experience, giving up bragging rights in order to secure tables at the best restaurant you had never heard of. Then, in February, the World Restaurant Awards dubbed Wolfgat the best restaurant in the world. Walk-ins are now impossible, but bookings can still be made up to 90 days in advance online. —Aryn Baker

JAPAN BY BOAT

GUNTU

Seto Inland Sea, Japan

 A cross between a *ryokan* and a yacht, this floating hotel has 19 luxurious cabins and sets sail from Onomichi in Hiroshima prefecture before cruising around Japan's Seto Inland Sea. The boat's warm, wood-paneled interiors—designed by architect Yasushi Horibe—give the small hotel an inviting vibe, but the best benefit of setting sail on the *Guntu* is easy access to the sea's over 700 islands. Onshore activities range from a visit to Naoshima, an art-filled island that's home to Yayoi Kusama's famous dotted pumpkins, to sampling soy sauce at a local brewery to excursions with local fishermen. There are more than 10 sailing routes, from one to three nights, and cabins start at approximately \$3,300 per night, all-inclusive. —Amy Gunia





GUSTO

LAND OF GROWTH

FINCA VICTORIA

Vieques, P.R.

 Much attention has been paid to the posthurricane restoration efforts in San Juan, Puerto Rico's capital. But regrowth is happening elsewhere in the territory too. In February, following a major renovation, owner Sylvia de Marco reopened Finca Victoria, a farmhouse-style bed-and-breakfast on Vieques, an island off Puerto Rico's eastern coast. The farm on the property is the hotel's heart, providing the ingredients for the meals served there and the oils used at the wellness center. Each room has its own herb garden, and the communal dining table and small staff add to the healthful, homey ambience.

—Anna Kambhampaty

DRINKING DUO

CO CELLARS

Burlington, Vt.

 Originally a soda-bottling plant, this brightly painted building now houses a different kind of drink. CO Cellars opened there in January as a winery, cellar space and tasting room for local companies Zafa Wines and Shacksbury Cider. The shared space allows the two businesses to work together, and combining fruits has led to co-fermented "vinous ciders," which can taste like everything from light, fruity ciders to high-tannin food-pairing wines. —Abigail Abrams

A HISTORY OF LAUGHTER

NATIONAL COMEDY CENTER

Jamestown, N.Y.

 At the National Comedy Center, the history of American comedy is on display: the museum's artifacts include Joan Rivers' stand-up notes, the *Seinfeld* "puffy shirt" and a George Carlin archive. In March, Congress designated the space the official cultural institution for comedy in the U.S.

—Rachel E. Greenspan

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**BIRDS OF A
FEATHER**
Nicole Kidman
and Ansel Elgort
star in *The
Goldfinch*, based
on the hit novel

INSIDE

TWO ATTEMPTS TO RE-CREATE
GAME OF THRONES' MAGIC

A DEEP DIVE INTO THE RISE OF
INFLUENCER CULTURE

THE RETURN OF
SALMAN RUSHDIE

MOVIES

On the big screen, *The Goldfinch* takes flight

By Sarah Begley

ON A MARCH DAY ON NEW YORK CITY'S UPPER EAST Side, producers huddle on the narrow first floor of an art gallery, studying their monitors and surrounded by pictures of flora and fauna. Eagles and herons adorn the walls, but the bird that serves as the focal point of this big production is much daintier: small enough to perch on a finger, yet still beautiful enough to start a sensation.

The bird, of course, is a goldfinch—or rather a painting of one from the 17th century by the Dutch artist Carel Fabritius. That indelible image was the inspiration for Donna Tartt's Pulitzer Prize-winning 2013 novel, *The Goldfinch*, which tracks the winding coming-of-age story of a teenage boy who steals the painting from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the aftermath of a bombing in which his mother is killed. Here at the gallery, director John Crowley—best known for helming the 2015 Oscar-nominated film *Brooklyn*—is shooting the final scene of the book's much anticipated film adaptation. The real action is taking place upstairs, where Ansel Elgort and Nicole Kidman are filming, but this characteristically cramped Manhattan gallery is too small to fit everyone on one floor, so most of the crew watches from below, Kidman and Elgort visible in miniature on the monitors as they shoot one take after another.

It's a particularly frigid day, so Kidman and Elgort are both bundled in parkas over their costumes when I meet them downstairs after the shoot wraps. Elgort holds a plastic cup, lid and straw with his hand pulled inside the sleeve of his parka, such that the cup appears where his hand should be, while Kidman is wearing a gray wig and prosthetics to look older, as she's quick to point out. Could it be the formula for a second Oscar, after she donned a fake nose to play Virginia Woolf in *The Hours* and went on to win Best Actress?

"No," she says, "it's just what's authentic for the role." There's a dramatic age difference for her character between her first and last scenes; at first she looks radiant and steely, but later she's gone weathered from sorrow and the passage of time. "When you reach the age I'm at, you can go either way. It's a fabulous place to be."

It's only a few days after the 90th Academy Awards, where the two co-stars ran into each other. "I think it was the first time he saw me without all this," Kidman says, gesturing to her fake neck. "I saw Ansel's eyes sort of going, 'Who is this?'" Elgort has been working on modifying his appearance as well: "I've been dieting for this movie, because apparently I was too healthy-looking," he explains. "They cast me anyway. They believed that I could become unhealthy, and I did!"

As restrained as their characters are in the film, the two actors are playful with each other and ready to laugh when the camera's not rolling. When asked if he might get typecast as a thief now—this is his first big

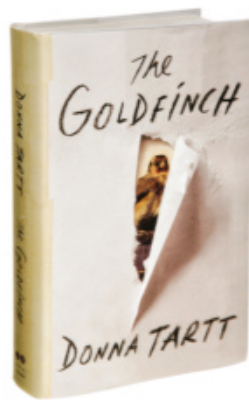
feature since starring in the car-heist flick *Baby Driver*—Elgort says, "Sure. It's fun being a thief."

"Thief of the heart," Kidman says.

ONSCREEN, THE TONE is decidedly more somber. The film toggles back and forth between the story lines of the adult Theo Decker (Elgort), who remains haunted by his mother's tragic death and his guilt and paranoia over having stolen the painting, even as a grownup who's become an art forger; and the odyssey of the teenage Theo (Oakes Fegley), who begins bouncing from one adult guardian to another in the wake of his mother's death. He's taken in by Mrs. Barbour (Kidman), the mother of a school friend. In Tartt's novel, she is described as "so cool and blonde and monotone that sometimes she seemed partially drained of blood." Kidman makes the character glacial with flashes of warmth, an Upper East Side mom with more layers than are at first evident.

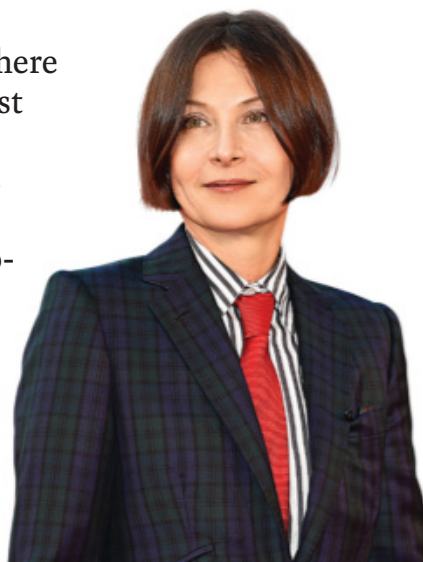
During his stay with the Barbours, Theo is exposed to a more high-society lifestyle, as well as a ravishing American art collection; Mrs. Barbour recognizes a kinship with the young art lover, and quickly takes a liking to him in her understated "bloodless" way. The role has been expanded from its smaller footprint in the book, perhaps to accommodate Kidman's star power, and she holds up every scene she's in like a caryatid in a Greek ruin.

But after Theo's hapless father (Luke Wilson) resurfaces, along with a new girlfriend (a wonderfully smarmy Sarah Paulson, playing against type), taking the boy on a misbegotten detour to the Nevada desert, Theo begins fumbling toward independence, namely through his intimate friendship with an Eastern European classmate, Boris (*Stranger Things*' Finn Wolfhard). Theo ultimately lands back in the care of antiques dealer James "Hobie" Hobart (Jeffrey Wright), whose partner was also killed in the Met explosion. Theo ends up becoming a skilled forger of valuable furniture—all while carrying a priceless stolen painting along with him on his adventures. Eventually he finds his way back to the Barbour family and its matriarch's encouragement.



Since its publication in 2013, *The Goldfinch* has sold over 3 million copies

Author Tartt





OPENING PAGE: MACALL POLAY—WARNER BROS.; THESE PAGES: TARTT: GETTY IMAGES; THE GOLDFINCH: MACALL POLAY—WARNER BROS.

It's a complicated story, but even in a movie with a love triangle, class tensions and a high-stakes grift, the main narrative driver is the fate of that painting. The book lets that unfold in a linear fashion, so those who have read it may experience less dramatic tension in the film version, which jumps around in time, withholding information about the bombing and the painting that readers would have known all along.

"That was the big leap from page to screen: the nonlinear, almost editorial conceit," says director Crowley. "We focus in on two time periods of Theo's life. It allowed us a visual approach which was very satisfying—a way of accessing his internal life." By necessity, the film excises some of the novel's epic scope and dense interiority—Tartt's book weighs in at 784 pages—while still bringing the key settings to life.

THE FILM, WHICH ARRIVES on Sept. 13, is a story of elegance and despair, preservation and decay. In a time

▲
Young Theo (Fegley) gets an education from his mentor and caretaker Hobie (Wright)

when studios have embraced surefire commercial successes like franchises and reboots, *The Goldfinch* represents a rare grownup movie with a healthy budget from the studio system: Warner Bros. estimates the film's cost at \$40 million. "This would normally be an independent film, so to have a studio make it is [remarkable]," says Kidman.

The attention to detail shows: visually, *The Goldfinch* is a jewel box, richly designed and rendered, and a love letter to the city where much of the action takes place. "The story's based around an old, romantic New York that is disappearing very quickly," says production designer K.K. Barrett. "The Greenwich Village area and then the kind of upper-crust, uptown area, as a contrast to each other. Downtown's getting gentrified; uptown's changing." Oscar-

winning cinematographer Roger Deakins shoots the film opulently, getting at both the rarefied atmosphere of New York society and the desolate suburban landscape of the Nevada neighborhood where Theo lives with his father.

The wide scope and largely metropolitan setting have led to the novel being described as "Dickensian," a label Crowley embraces. "Obviously Donna [Tartt] adores Dickens, and this is her nod to him," he says. "Structurally, you have a tale about an orphan who travels from the upper echelons right down to the underworld, which is a very Dickensian idea." Everywhere Theo goes, death and misadventure follow. The light of hope comes from his love of art, and the power it can have to connect even across generations.

"I think that this story is celebrating the joy and importance of passing something on culturally," Crowley says. "If you are moved or touched by a great work of art, in some sense you have a responsibility to it—to pass it on." □



◀ Carnival Row casts Bloom and Delevingne in a dark fairy tale

wasn't anything special, but it still sufficed as an excuse to explore a stunning new world. *Age of Resistance* follows three Gelflings as they discover that their Skeksis overlords are only pretending to be benevolent. But because each of the heroes hails from a different clan, in a society with strict hierarchies, they must overcome those divisions before they can team up to resist their feudal masters.

The premise is more fantasy boilerplate, though it does resonate in divisive times. The real problem is the pacing; the show spends so much time panning over landscapes and watching puppets hang out that you can start to lose the plot. It takes nearly half of the 10-episode season to get the quest set up. Who has time for that?

DESPITE THE PRESENCE of several *Thrones* stars (Nathalie Emmanuel, Natalie Dormer, Lena Headey) in *Crystal*'s stellar voice cast, it's *Carnival Row* that really courts the HBO hit's audience. A grownup fantasy with prestige trappings—a cast led by Orlando Bloom and Cara Delevingne, a timely political agenda, weird sex aplenty—it transposes the current immigration crisis on an alternate-universe Victorian England inundated with fae, fauns and other mythical races displaced by poverty and proxy wars.

Delevingne's feisty fairy and Bloom's righteous police detective are our entry points into what is by turns a Jack the Ripper riff, an Austen-style comedy of manners and a dark political thriller (starring the great Jared Harris), with a Dickensian street gang and a fairy brothel thrown in for kicks. These story lines rarely intersect with one another or with the show's themes of anti-imperialism and tolerance in a way that justifies the collage of references. And hacky dialogue ("Oh, come now, woman!") doesn't help. If early *Thrones* was a master class in how to execute fantasy, *Carnival Row* is its opposite—a cautionary tale for fabulists who figure that any old combination of reality and magic will do. □

TELEVISION

Fantasy shows vie to be the next *Game of Thrones*

By Judy Berman

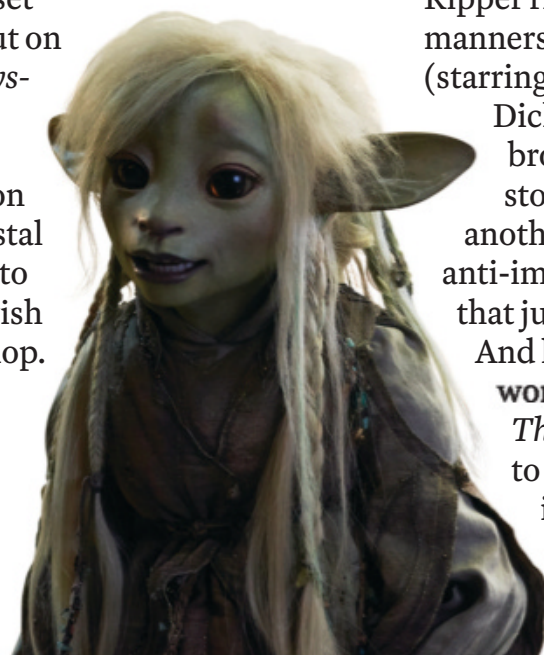
AFTER SUCH A DISAPPOINTING CONCLUSION, IT'S EASY TO forget how good *Game of Thrones* once was. In the first episode, we were introduced to the stoic but just and loving Stark clan. By the end, we'd met the swaggering Lannisters, the anxious king, the exiled Targaryens plotting revolution. We'd witnessed Daenerys' orgiastic wedding and watched the incestuous twins Cersei and Jaime throw Bran out a window. There were White Walkers, direwolves, a virtuosic girl archer.

Like many episodes in *Thrones*' early seasons, that first episode is a study in good fantasy storytelling: It builds an expansive, enthralling alternate world while quickly establishing conflicts absorbing enough to hold our attention. It's relevant and escapist at once, using the supernatural conventions of the genre to reframe real, resonant human problems. Now that the search is on for the next *Thrones*, the bar has been set high for two much-anticipated fantasy series that will debut on Aug. 30: Amazon's *Carnival Row* and Netflix's *The Dark Crystal: Age of Resistance*. Neither show clears it.

Crystal at least gets the world-building part right. Like the cult classic 1982 Jim Henson movie, this prequel is set on Thra, an imaginary planet powered by a giant magenta crystal that teems with Muppet-y mythical creatures. Committed to re-creating the look of the original, Netflix bankrolled a lavish live-action production built in the Jim Henson Creature Shop. The visual detail is astounding, from the puppets' ornate hairstyles to an immersive backdrop of enchanted forests, imposing castles and cave cities constructed in miniature.

This alone might be enough to satisfy the film's fans, but the story lags behind. The original *Crystal*'s quest narrative—a Gelfling, perhaps the last of his elfin kind, must challenge Thra's evil vulturelike rulers, the Skeksis—

The elflike Gelflings return in *The Dark Crystal: Age of Resistance*



TELEVISION

American Dreams for sale

IT'S HARD TO LIVE UP TO A TITLE LIKE *On Becoming a God in Central Florida*—and at first the new Showtime dramedy seems doomed to disappoint. Set in an Orlando suburb in 1992, it opens with a crisis in the marriage of Travis (Alexander Skarsgard) and Krystal Stubbs (Kirsten Dunst). Travis is entangled in a pyramid scheme called Founders American Merchandise. Though he's got little to show for it, he's determined to quit his day job. If he does, Krystal says, she'll take their baby and leave.

A miscast Skarsgard sets the stage for a broad, mean-spirited satire. But once he's sidelined—in an early twist too insane to spoil—the delightful *Central Florida* (debuting Aug. 25) belongs to Dunst. A brace-faced dynamo who works at a water park, her character is a tenacious mom in the Mildred Pierce mold. The role suits Dunst's perky intensity, calling back to her turns in *Fargo* and *Drop Dead Gorgeous*, and grounds polemic from first-time creators Robert Funke and Matt Lutsky in a smart, mostly sympathetic protagonist.

Like two other summer standouts, *Florida Girls* and *David Makes Man*, the show frames the Sunshine State as a microcosm of America—a melting pot about to boil over, where strivers of all backgrounds struggle and scheme. To that end, its supporting characters are vivid: one step above Travis in the FAM hierarchy is Cody (Théodore Pellerin), a type-A twerp with a masochistic streak. Krystal's kind, married co-worker Ernie (Mel Rodriguez) gets sucked in because he feels drawn to her for reasons he can't or won't understand.

Atop the pyramid sits Obie Garbeau II (Ted Levine), who's made a fortune selling fantasies of owning a helicopter and being one's own boss. His taped affirmations bookend the episodes, reminding us that FAM symbolizes the American Dream. *Central Florida* isn't breaking new ground here; it's weakest when it harps on the obvious metaphor. Everything the show wants to communicate is already there in the characters, each one a case study in who wins and loses in this country. —J.B.



Krystal Stubbs (Dunst) puts her best fin forward

DOCUMENTARY

A moving look at the teen idols of 2019

Teen pop culture is rarely comprehensible to adults. Elvis sounded like noise to parents raised on Bing Crosby. Myspace baffled boomers. Now many of us see teens obsessing over influencers— young people, often with no discernible talent, who've built huge followings on social-video platforms—and can't imagine what they're getting out of it.

Jawline, a Sundance hit that comes to theaters and Hulu on Aug. 23, is an antidote to that confusion. In observing Austyn Tester, a 16-year-old live streamer in rural Tennessee with enviable bone structure, director Liza Mandelup translates his world into terms anyone can understand. By growing his modest audience, Austyn hopes to escape his stifling small town. In daily broadcasts, he smiles, flirts, offers vague affirmations; a mall meet-up finds 10 or so girls angling for a kiss. What they see in him is what many Beatlemania fans saw in Paul: a safe imaginary boyfriend who's sweeter than the guys at school.

There's a darker side, of course—not just the hunger for undeserved fame and fortune, but the cynical managers and hangers-on who exploit naive wannabes like Austyn. Yet as Mandelup subtly demonstrates in this wise, empathetic doc, these unsavory elements only further tie social-media stars to the teen-idol industries of years past. Same as it ever was. —J.B.



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FICTION

A fool's dream

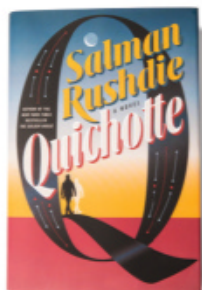
By Nicholas Mancusi

QUICHOTTE, THE BOOKER PRIZE LONG-LISTED 14th novel from Salman Rushdie, is pitched as a “*Don Quixote* for the modern age,” but the book—a brilliant, funny, world-encompassing wonder—is a far more ambitious exercise than mere homage.

The titular character (pronounced Key-shot) was born under a different name, in a city also under a different name: Bombay, now Mumbai. The Indian-immigrant traveling salesman of pharmaceuticals, aging, addled into holy foolishness by a lifetime of TV worship, and recently laid off, bestows the name Quichotte upon himself as a nod to Cervantes’ famous knight, or rather, as a nod to a French opera which was “loosely based” on the book. (“It seems you’re a little loosely based yourself,” Quichotte tells himself, aware that he might be cracking up a bit.)

Under his nom de plume, he embarks on a picaresque mission across America to win over the heart of one Salma R, a beautiful celebrity in New York City whom he knows only through the TV screen. For a squire to ride beside him in his Chevy Cruze, he conjures into being a son, named Sancho. Quichotte is delighted to find out that the world, in its fraying state, seems to bend under the strength of his conviction, which bodes well for his impossible dream. “The Age of Anything-Can-Happen! How overjoyed he was, Quichotte exclaimed inwardly, how grateful he was to live in such a time!” In this latter age of man, the narration continues, “A whole nation might jump off a cliff like swarming lemmings. Men who played presidents on TV could become presidents. The water might run out ... And a TV star might miraculously return the love of a foolish old coot, giving him an unlikely romantic triumph which would redeem a long, small life, bestowing upon it, at the last, the radiance of majesty.”

BUT WAIT—WE LEARN that Quichotte and Sancho are characters twice removed, the fictional subjects of a book being written by a midlist author of middling spy fiction named Sam DuChamp, who hopes to branch out into meaningful work with “a book radically unlike any other he had ever attempted.” Like his main character, he is also an Indian immigrant operating under a nom de plume, also in the autumn of his years, also dragging behind him into an unknown future a knotted and dysfunctional family history. If Quichotte has been deranged by his consumption of media, the man who is writing him into existence



▲
*Literary lion
Rushdie's new
novel, set in
modern-day
America, takes on
the story of a man
like Don Quixote*

has been deranged by his creation of it.

DuChamp describes the full scope of the book that he is trying to write, which also happens to describe Rushdie’s project: “He talked about wanting to take on the destructive, mind-numbing junk culture of his time just as Cervantes had gone to war with the junk culture of his own age. He said he was trying also to write about impossible, obsessional love, father-son relationships, sibling quarrels and, yes, unforgivable things; about Indian immigrants, racism toward them, crooks among them; about cyber-spies, science fiction, the intertwining of fictional and ‘real’ realities, the death of the author, the end of the world.”

You would be right to think that for a writer to take all of this on at once would be to risk a mess of a novel. But in Rushdie’s hands all borders are indeed porous: between author and subject, reality and magic, hope and folly. As he weaves the journeys of the two men nearer and nearer, sweeping up a full accounting of all the tragicomic horrors of modern American life in the process, these energies begin to collapse beautifully inward, like a dying star. His readers realize that they would happily follow Rushdie to the end of the world, which it turns out they will have to do.

If the writer is his work, and the work is its characters, then they all die together. Like any serious book, this one is written with a long view toward the apocalypse, and the one written here is shared evenly: the end of the book, the end of Quichotte, the end of the author, and the end of the world. And yet somehow, a glimmer of hope, like an impossible dream, is left for us. □

FICTION

Finding a place to call home

How do we define home? It's a perennial question in fiction, but few stories interrogate the intersection of community, family and history in a more heartbreaking way than the eight in Edwidge Danticat's new collection.

The narratives in *Everything Inside* trace primarily female characters and their relationships with Haiti, a country they are all connected to in different ways. In the first story, a nurse's assistant learns that her ex-husband's girlfriend has been kidnapped. In another, a mother copes with her nanny's AIDS diagnosis. And in what might be the collection's most devastating piece, a woman reconnects over dinner with a past lover who lost his leg in the 2010 Haitian earthquake.

Danticat, who was born in Port-au-Prince, expertly blends the crises of the country—natural disasters, economic inequality, violence—with her characters' personal dilemmas (love, loss and the space that connects the two). The National Book Award finalist navigates an impressive balance between the personal and the political as she explores what it means to identify with a specific piece of the world.

—Annabel Gutterman



RUSHDIE: RACHEL ELIZA GRIFFITHS; DANTICAT: LYNN SAVARESE

FICTION

A journey from Aleppo

By Naina Bajekal

AFTER TWO SUMMERS VOLUNTEERING in a refugee center in Athens as thousands of families flooded into Greece, Christy Lefteri found herself wondering what it means to see, and be seen. From the question sprang her second novel, which follows Nuri, a Syrian beekeeper, and his wife Afra, an artist blinded by an explosion, on a journey to find safety in the U.K.

We tend to hear refugee stories in the abstract: millions of people fleeing war, poverty and persecution—words that carry no specifics. But in *The Beekeeper of Aleppo*, Lefteri gives us a deeply researched, intimate look at the lives of one couple. Narrated by Nuri, the novel weaves together two time lines: one starting in Aleppo in 2015 as the couple decides to leave Syria and make the dangerous journey through Turkey and Greece, and the other from a seaside town in England the following year, where they are applying for asylum.

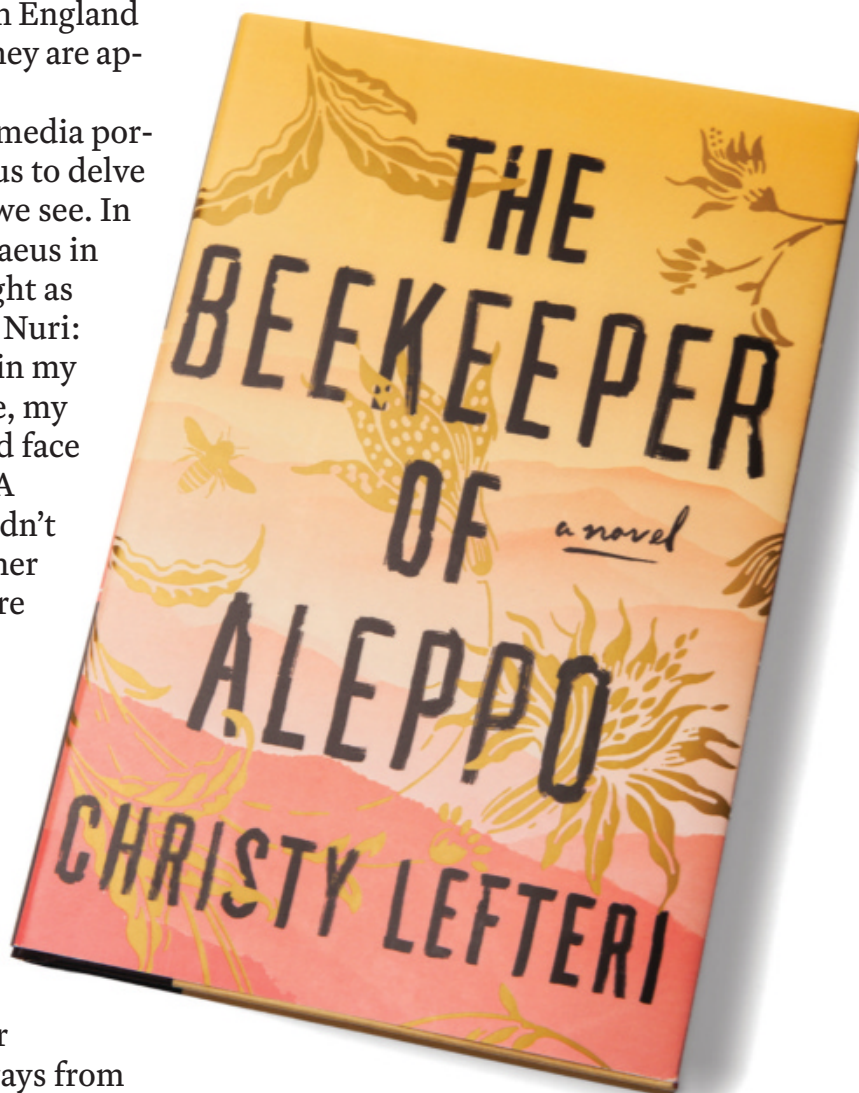
Lefteri subtly critiques media portrayals of refugees, asking us to delve beyond the crisis imagery we see. In one scene at the port of Piraeus in Athens, there's a flash of light as a black object is pointed at Nuri: "A gun? My breath caught in my throat, I struggled to inhale, my vision blurred, my neck and face felt hot, my fingers numb. A camera." Nuri realizes it hadn't occurred to the photographer that "he was taking a picture of a real human."

A former psychotherapist and the daughter of Cypriot refugees, Lefteri sensitively charts what it's like when war comes home, alert to the subtle effects of trauma and grief. Nuri and Afra are not broadly sketched as victims, but rather suffer in different and complex ways from PTSD—a condition still rarely explored

in literature beyond the accounts of veteran fighters or war correspondents. Nuri and Afra manage to escape their shattered hometown, but they cannot escape the memories that haunt them. "You are lost in the darkness," Afra tells Nuri, reminding us that even if she is the one who has lost her sight, he is even more cut off from his loved ones—and himself.

Lefteri's slow-building narrative rarely veers into sentimentality or overwhelming bleakness. Nuri's love of beekeeping and Afra's gift for art, interspersed with happier recollections of Syria, offer a glimpse of the beauty still within their reach. By creating characters with such rich, complex inner lives, Lefteri shows that in order to stretch compassion to millions of people, it helps to begin with one. □

Lefteri gives us an intimate look at the lives of one couple



9 Questions

Joy Harjo The first Native American U.S. poet laureate on her new book, *An American Sunrise*, and the state of poetry

You found your voice as a poet in 1973, a time when a lot of Americans found theirs. How much was that a factor? I didn't set out to be a writer. I was shy, quiet, and I loved art because I didn't have to speak with anyone. At one point, my spirit said, "You have to learn how to speak." I think poetry came to me because there was a lot of change. In 1973, I was 23, a mother of two children, and I was in a very active Kiva club [that was raising awareness about Native American issues] during the native-rights movement. We were dispersed Americans, totally disregarded, and I felt our voices needed to be heard. I started writing poetry out of a sense of needing to speak not only for me but all Native American women.

What do people get wrong about Native Americans? A lot of images [of Native Americans] are based on fairy tales or Wild West shows. We are human beings, not just people who have been created for people's fantasy worlds. There's not just one Native American. We're diverse by community, by land, by language, by culture. In fact, we go by our tribal names, and there are 573 tribal nations.

Do you write every day? I'm often writing something almost every day. I keep journals: one on the computer, one for dreams, one for general observations and overheard things, and one for learning jazz standards, so I look up the history of the song, then I rehearse it and make notes.

What time of day do you write best? When the airwaves are clear, either really early—like 6 a.m., 7 a.m., before anything is said—or really late. It's important to have a doorway open to the place without words, and that happens more easily when you've come from dreaming.

What advice would you give poets? It's about learning to listen, much like in music. You can train your ears to

“WE NEED SOMETHING TO COUNTER THE HATE SPEECH, THE DIVISIVENESS, AND IT'S POSSIBLE WITH POETRY.”



history. You can train your ears to the earth. You can train your ears to the wind. It's important to listen and then to study the world, like astronomy or geology or the names of birds. A lot of poets can be semihistorians. Poetry is very mathematical. There's a lot in the theoretical parts that is similar. Quantum physicists remind me of mystics. They are aware of what happens in timelessness, though they speak of it through theories and equations.

What history inspired *An American Sunrise*?

It came directly out of standing and looking out into the woods of what had been our homelands in the Southeast before Andrew Jackson removed us to Indian territory. I stood there and looked out, and I heard, "What did you learn here?"

What are your plans as the poet laureate? I can remind people that they use poetry, go to poetry, frequently, and may not even know they are. A lot of song lyrics are poetry. They go to poetry for a transformational moment, to speak when there are no words to speak.

As a singer and saxophonist in the Arrow Dynamics Band, do you plan to incorporate music in the role? I always play or perform music with my poetry. When poetry came into the world, it did not arrive by itself, but it came with music and dance.

How would you describe the state of poetry? Audiences for poetry are growing because of the turmoil in our country—political shifts, climate shifts. When there's uncertainty, when you're looking for meaning beyond this world—that takes people to poetry. We need something to counter the hate speech, the divisiveness, and it's possible with poetry.

—OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

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